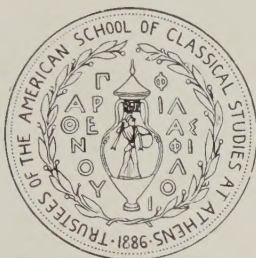


# HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME II: NUMBER 4

1933



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS  
IN THE  
ATHENIAN AGORA  
SECOND REPORT

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS


1933

*Printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna*  
*Manufactured in Austria*

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA  
SECOND REPORT

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## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1932

The second campaign of excavations in the American zone of the ancient Agora of Athens was begun on January 25, 1932, and was continued until June 4. Although this was the extent of the operations on a large scale, the work, in fact, was continuous throughout the year, for during the summer the task of making the excavated areas tidy included the clearance of several wells, and in the Autumn stones of archaeological interest were taken from the walls of modern houses which were demolished in preparation of the terrain for subsequent excavation.

The scientific staff for 1932 was composed of the following members in addition to the Director: Professor Richard Stillwell, supervising architect; Charles Spector, assistant architect, H. A. Thompson, F. O. Waagé, Eugene Vanderpool and Miss Dorothy Burr respectively in charge of the four areas of excavation; Mrs. Howard Simpkin, artist; Mrs. T. L. Shear in charge of the coins; Miss Lucy Talcott, Miss Virginia Grace, Mrs. Dow and Mrs. Parsons, recorders in the cataloguing department; Professor B. D. Meritt in charge of the study of the inscriptions; and Miss Hetty Goldman in charge of the study of the early pottery. Mr. H. Wagner of the German Archaeological Institute has done most satisfactorily the professional photographic work. This staff was supplemented by the appointment to it of the distinguished archaeologist, Professor A. D. Keramopoulos, as representative of the Archaeological Society of Athens. The onerous business management of the organization has continued to be in the competent hands of Mr. A. Adossides, and Sophokles Lekkas, the experienced foreman of many campaigns of excavation, has been head foreman in charge of all labor operations. Throughout the season hearty support, advice and assistance were generously furnished by the Greek Government through Dr. K. Kourouniotes, Director of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education, and by the Greek Archaeological Society through Professor G. P. Oikonomos, its Secretary. Nineteen modern houses were demolished on a surface of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and earth to a total of 10,000 tons was removed in carts by a contractor as in the preceding campaign.

The excavations of the present season were conducted in four areas, in two of which work was done during the first campaign in the Summer of 1931. These areas are designated by the Greek letters, A, E, Δ, ΣΤ, on the plan of the district reproduced in the First Report of the Excavations, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99, Fig. 2. In the northernmost sector, A, which lies under the Hill of the Theseum, the foundations of the Royal Stoa were uncovered in the first season. The identification of this building has been



confirmed by the current investigations, which were conducted under the supervision of Dr. Thompson, and the presence of another structure has been revealed which opens from the Stoa on the west side. An immense amount of labor was required to cut away the living rock of the cliff in order that the building could be placed in this exact spot, so that it is obvious that its location here was necessitated by its relation



Fig. 1. The Foundations of the Royal Stoa with its Annex on the Right

to the Stoa, to which it must have served as an annex. It may have been used as office space for administrative officers of the city, or it may have provided additional rooms for the storage of official records and archives.

Figure 1 gives a view of the southern part of the Royal Stoa, as seen from the northwest, on the left (A), while on the right are the foundations and floor of the west (Hellenistic) building (B), which are set in a deep cutting of the living rock. This latter hall was entered by a doorway opening from the Royal Stoa. A marble pavement, which is partly preserved, belongs to the Roman period, but the date of the foundations of the original construction is fixed in the early part of the third century B.C. by the



pottery found below and around the stones. This Hellenistic building has been described from the architectural point of view by Professor Stillwell in the First Report, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 124 to 126.

At the time when the Hellenistic building was erected the use of an elaborate system of waterworks in the vicinity was abandoned. Two well-shafts on its south

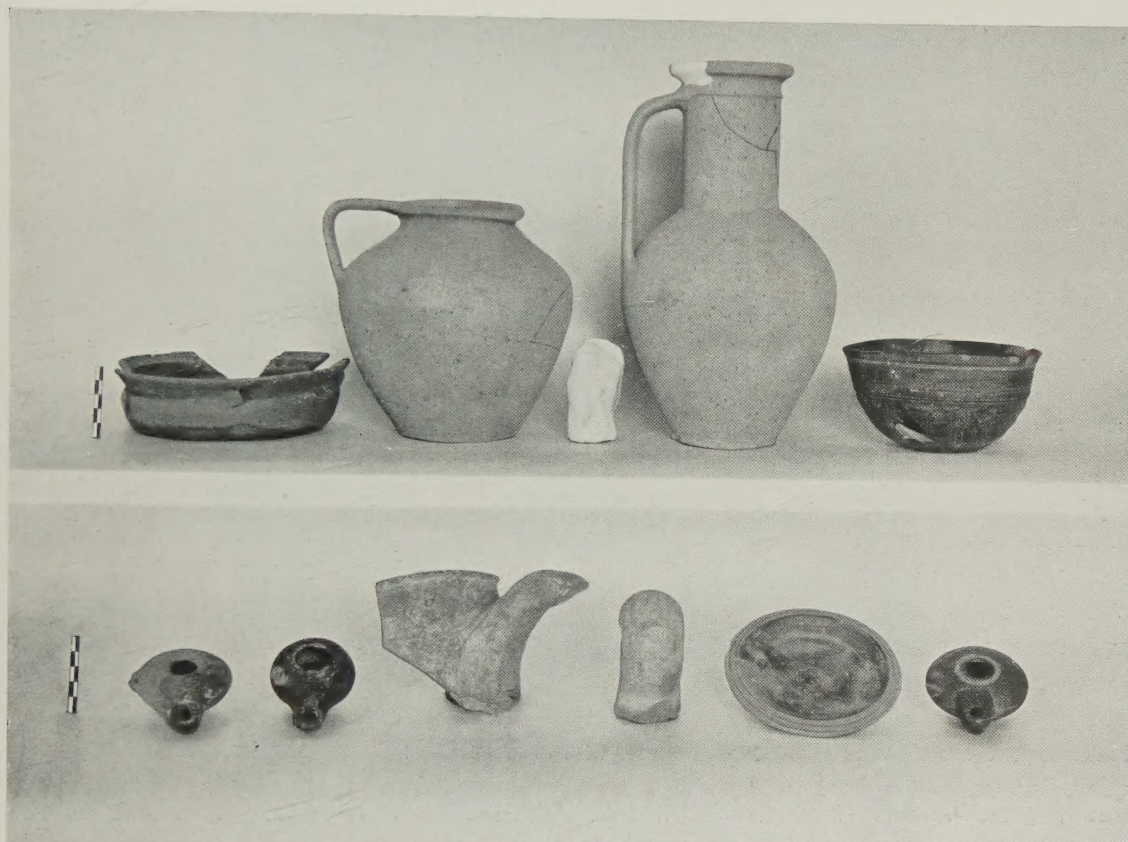


Fig. 2. Objects from a Well

side were actually covered by some of the foundation blocks. The objects in these wells, such as lamps, and vases, date from the fourth and the early part of the third century B.C., and nothing of later date occurred in the deposits. In one of the wells, of which the site is marked C in Figure 1, was also found a beautiful bronze head of a woman, which is described in the article on sculpture. This shaft, which has a diameter of 1 m., extends to a depth of 7.10 m. The filling was uniform in character from the top to the bottom, consisting largely of heavy clay and of many large and small stones, interspersed with which were coarse pots and objects, of which a selected group is illustrated in Figure 2. At a depth of 6 m. in the well was lying the skeleton



of an adult man, whose skull has special interest because of the decayed condition of one of the teeth. The skull, which is shown in Figure 3, has a cephalic index of .778. An upper right molar tooth had been removed some eight or ten years before death, but a decayed upper left bicuspid had been left in the mouth and had caused an abscess of the jaw. The man must have suffered great pain, and the poisons developed from the abscess may have been an indirect cause of his death. No trace of dental treatment is visible.

Just west of the well a second shaft, Figure 1, D, leads to an underground passage which opens into a large cistern lying to the south. This cistern has been fully



Fig. 3. Skull with diseased Tooth

described in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 126-128. The datable objects from it belong to the fourth and to the beginning of the third century B.C. The largest group of vases is made up of small undecorated bowls and cups. Several thousands of these were found, and the position in which they were lying indicates that they had been thrown in through the well-opening in the roof. They were undoubtedly cheap votive offerings dedicated in some neighboring sanctuary, which had been cast out and buried when the shrine became overcrowded with dedications. Other wells and cisterns with underground connecting galleries occur in the neighborhood, and the deposits in all cases show that they were filled up in the third century B.C., but no evidence was produced by the excavations to account for the abandonment at that time of such an elaborate system of waterworks.

A water-channel of later date was found to be well preserved in part of its course, as is shown in the picture of its southwest corner (Fig. 4), which is behind the southwest



corner of the building, formerly excavated, south of the Royal Stoa. The channel itself is made of terracotta sections which are cemented together. The inner width of the water course is 0.15 m. This channel is set on bedrock or hard earth and is covered by a series of pairs of huge curved terracotta tiles, which are placed on end, straddling

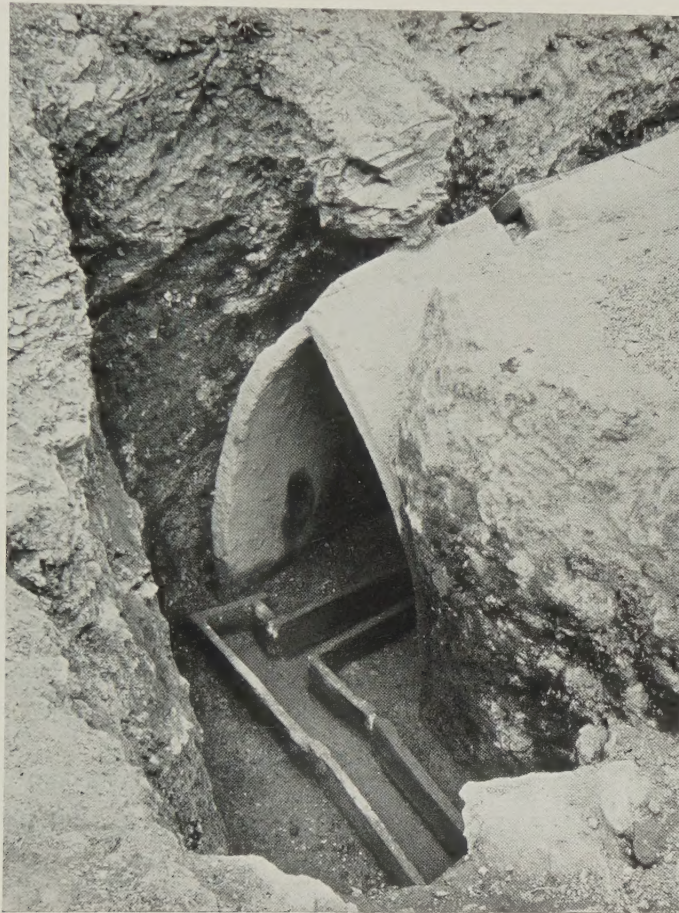


Fig. 4. Corner of Water-channel

the channel, with their upper edges touching so as to form a tunnel through which the channel passes. The tiles, which measure more than 1 m. in height and are 0.62 m. in width, are so heavy that hand-holes were cut in their walls for convenience in lifting. In the corner which appears in Figure 4 the channel is properly constructed to provide for the backwash of water when it makes the right-angled turn. Some Hellenistic sherds and a Greek coin of Athens of the second century B.C. were found in the tunnel, but some late pottery and a Roman coin of the fourth century A.D. were also secured from



it, and the fact that the channel is laid in part over the foundations of the Royal Stoa on the west side would indicate that it is of late Roman date.

A group of shanties occupied by refugees was located on the rocks above the Hellenistic building, close to the modern terrace wall bounding the precinct of the Theseum, as may be seen in the photograph reproduced in Figure 1. With much difficulty

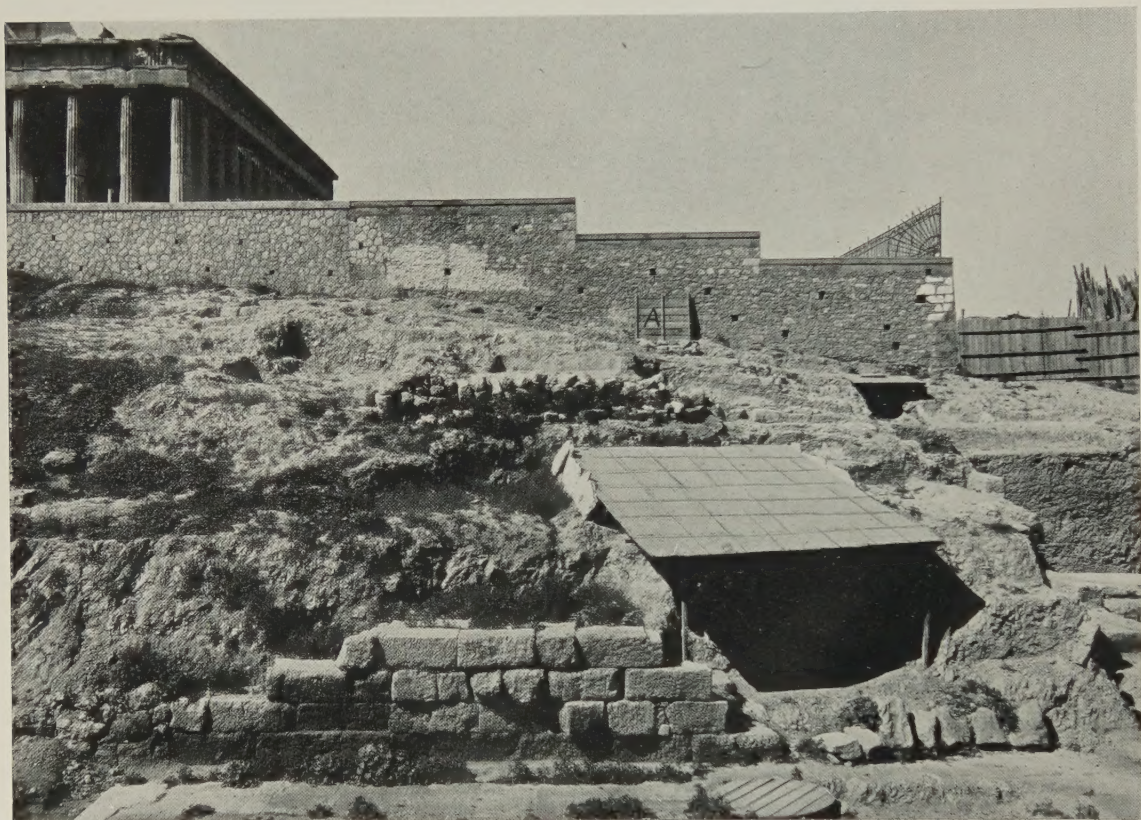


Fig. 5. Site of the Mouth (A) of the Rock-cut Shaft

these refugees were dislodged from their precarious perch. In the subsequent operations of clearing the rock the mouth of a rectangular shaft cut in the rock was uncovered. The position of the shaft, so close to the terrace wall that its mouth is partly covered by it, is indicated in Figure 5 by its wooden cover (A) which is raised against the wall. This shaft was cleared during the Summer of 1932 under the supervision of Mr. Vanderpool. The sides are not exactly vertical but the average dimensions are 2.70 by 1.10 m. It extends down to a depth of 19.60 m. The filling in the well seems to have been gradually accumulated during a period of years from about the middle of the sixth century to 480 B.C. and the stratification of the deposits is fairly well marked. At the bottom

was a black-figured oenochoe of the type and style of the Amasis painter while near the top were found some late black-figured and early red-figured sherds. A definite date is given to the later contents of the deposit by ostraka of Aristides and Themistokles (483 B.C.) which were lying at a depth of 4.50 m.—6 m.



Fig. 6. Early Attic Amphora

The rich and varied collection of objects from this deposit will be fully published by Mr. Vanderpool in a later number of *Hesperia*. Several of them only may be mentioned and illustrated in this report. One of the earliest objects from the shaft is a large amphora which is decorated by a sphinx on either side. This stately vase with a height of 0.457 m. was not found at the lowest level, the pieces being scattered from a depth



of 15.10 to 16.25 m., but its badly weathered surface indicates that it had stood for some time in an exposed position before it was thrown away. Because of the worn condition of the surface the photograph, Fig. 6, was made from a water-color of the vase by Mr. Piet de Jong. Each side of the vase is almost completely filled by a large sphinx of archaic type, and rosettes are scattered in the few remaining blank spaces and are closely placed around the edge of the rim. Palmettes and lotus buds are



Fig. 7. Attic Black-figured Bowl

grouped around the base of the handles. This fine specimen of early Attic ware must date as early as the seventh century B.C.

A vase of early Attic black-figured style has particular interest because of the scene with which it is decorated. Again because the surface of the vase is poorly preserved the illustration, Fig. 7, is taken from a water-color by Mr. de Jong. The decorations on each side are arranged in two panels. In the upper panel on one side is a combat between a bull and a lion. Below this the main panel is decorated with a representation of Herakles, who is standing in a chariot and is driving a team of centaurs. On the



other side of the vase three water-birds appear in the upper panel while the central panel is occupied by a group of five standing figures who are conversing together.

The finest object secured from the shaft is a plastic vase in the form of a kneeling boy (Fig. 8). The arms are upraised and the hands are loosely clasped as if they might



Fig. 8. Plastic Vase

have held the ends of a ribbon which may have passed around the neck of the vase. The exquisite modelling of the figure, the careful rendering of accurate details of the hands and feet, and the superb finish of the surface mark this as a masterpiece of archaic work. It probably dates from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.

From the end of the sixth century comes a red-figured cylix (Fig. 9). This vase has a very striking appearance because of the contrasting fields of color, the rim and the background of the central medallion being a highly polished black glaze while the

body of the bowl is an equally well polished red. The medallion is decorated with the figure of an athlete represented at the instant before he hurls the discus.

Among the many other discoveries in this shaft not the least important is a series of ostraka of which a group is shown in Figure 10. Here has been secured for the first time a ballot cast in January 487 B.C. against the first man to be ostracized, Hipparchos son of Charmos. The group also includes three of the votes cast against Megakles

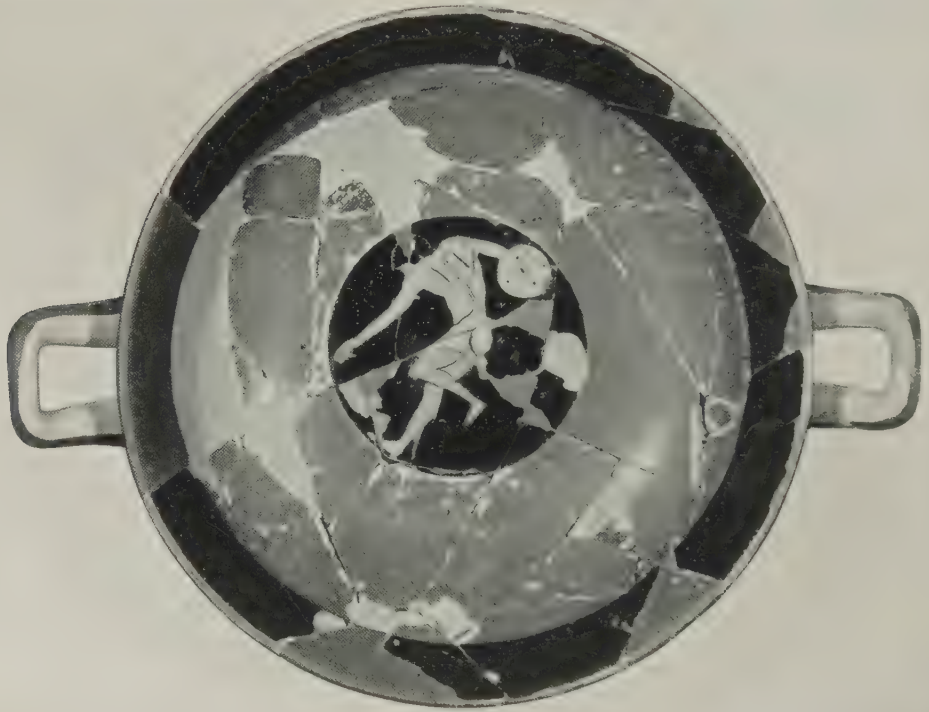


Fig. 9. Attic Red-figured Cylix

in 486, and two bearing the name of Hippokrates. Nothing otherwise is known about the ostracism of Hippokrates but Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, XXII, 4) states that the procedure was first employed against Hipparchos and that successively for three years members of the Peisistratos family were ostracized. He does not, however, give the name of the Peisistratid banished in 485. Possibly this was the Hippokrates whose name appears on two of the sherds in Figure 10. Other ostraka, found higher in the shaft, bear the names of Aristides and of Themistokles. It is probable that the ballot against Themistokles was cast during the voting in 483 when Aristides received the majority and was banished.

The second sector of the excavations, E, lying southeast of the first and directly east of the Theseum, was excavated under the supervision of Mr. Waagé. This, also, was a completion of the work begun in the previous season. The entire façade of the Stoa of Zeus was uncovered and this building has been described by Mr. Stillwell in

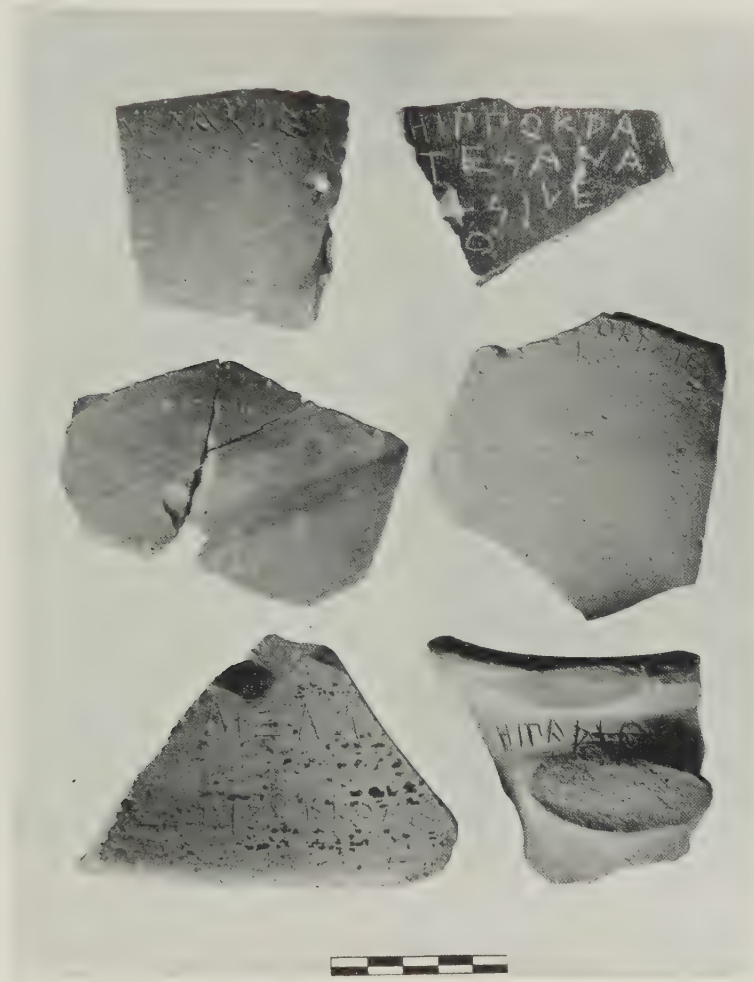


Fig. 10. Ostraka

*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 131–137. The house and earth above the great drain, where the statue of Hadrian had been seen at the close of the campaign of 1931, were removed, the statue was raised from the drain and was set erect on some blocks near-by. The statue was illustrated and described by me in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 178–183. An interesting result of the clearance of the terrain to the ancient Greek and Roman level is the pleasing appearance of the Theseum as it is now properly seen from below.



Figure 11 gives such a view of the temple, and shows in the centre the north end of the Stoa of Zeus, with the top of the drain and the statue of Hadrian visible in the left corner. With the uncovering of more of the drain several inscribed stelae were found lying across the top where they had been re-used as cover blocks. Two of these stelae are shown in place in Figure 12. Since the inscribed surfaces were placed downwards the



Fig. 11. View over Excavated Area from East

letters have been badly worn by the action of water, but with much painstaking effort the essential contents have been deciphered by Professor Meritt and have proved to be of considerable historical importance. They will be published by him in the first number of *Hesperia* in 1934. The area around the marble altar was extensively cleared and just north of that building there was uncovered a statue of a woman clad in transparent garments, which is published in a later article in this number.

The two southern sectors of the year's excavation, one extending north and south on Eponymon Street, Delta, and the other east and west on Asteroskopeiou Street, Stigma (see the Plan in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99), furnished the surprise of the season.



It was confidently expected that the ancient street which had appeared in Sector Epsilon would be picked up in one or other of these areas, and that in them some of the public buildings mentioned by Pausanias would be uncovered. But the results have shown that no public buildings were located here, for the slight house foundations existing must have belonged to private houses or to shops, which lay on the outskirts of the Agora and behind the sites of the large public buildings. It is clear that the



Fig. 12. Inscribed Stelae in place over Water-channel

ancient street must turn before it reached the area of these southern sections. The disappointment which was at first caused by the absence of public monuments was subsequently more than compensated by the discovery of Geometric burials with undisturbed contents, and by the finding of a great quantity of vases and of small objects belonging to the Greek and to the Hellenistic periods.

A view of the south end of Eponymon Street is given in Figure 13, which shows, on the right, the houses which were demolished in preparation for the excavation of Sector Delta. The large house in the centre was in good repair and at its valuation of \$ 6,500 is one of the most expensive which has so far been purchased in the archaeological area. A house of this size has the disadvantage from the excavator's point of view of having a deep cellar and usually more than one cesspool. As the deposit of accumulated

earth in this area proved to be shallow, only from 1.50 to 2 metres, the cellars of some of the houses extended down to bedrock. Figure 14 shows the area after excavation. The ground is seen to be pock-marked with shafts of wells and of cesspools which are often lying side by side. In the absence of a main sewer system in this part of the



Fig. 13. South End of Eponymon Street

city the houses have cesspools beneath them, which in some cases have not been cleaned out for many years. It is a disagreeable but necessary task to remove this filth and dig out the shaft to its bottom. A few of the wells have been in use in modern times, but others were filled up with earth and débris at various periods of antiquity. It is in such wells that many important and interesting objects have been found. A characteristic type of well is about one metre in diameter and is lined with superimposed series of three large curved terracotta tiles. One well went down to a depth of

23 m. and from top to bottom was filled with a deposit dating from the fifth to the third century B.C. A well at the south end, in which had been thrown the pieces of the statue of the marble Faun, which will be discussed in a later article, went out of use and was filled up in the latter part of the fourth century A.D., as is proved by the coins, pottery and terracottas in the deposit. The type of late Roman terracottas there found is illustrated by the crude figures of chickens and a dog shown in Figure 15.



Fig. 14. Section Delta after Excavation

The well in this area which yielded the most important objects was of an early date. Two wells, in fact, close together had been cut through the bedrock to a depth of 13 m. but before they had been long in use the wall between them apparently collapsed and they were abandoned. The objects found in them in great quantity all date from the second half of the sixth century B.C. There are many vases of numerous shapes, including some fine black-figured pieces, and early terracotta lamps and some interesting figurines. One of the figurines is selected to illustrate the deposit (Fig. 16). This is the head and bust of a veiled woman of characteristic archaic type. The hair, which is painted red, is arranged in curls on the forehead and hangs down in long strands on either side of the neck. The lips and the pupils of the eyes are red but the outlines of the eyes and



the eyebrows are painted black. A necklace is indicated by two black bands across the throat. A break at the back proves that the head was affixed to some object and it has been plausibly suggested that this was the decorative end of an epinetron or onos.

No remains of foundation walls exist in this area, nor are there any cuttings in the hard-pan whence blocks might have been removed. It is improbable that any large buildings ever stood here. The multiplicity of ancient wells points rather to the presence of a residential area. Furthermore, undisturbed deposits from the Geometric and the early Attic periods exist in many places just above the hard-pan. Any building of



Fig. 15. Terracotta Figures. Roman Period

considerable size would have required deeper foundations than could ever have been constructed here.

Among the early Attic remains from this area two vases, which date from the early part of the sixth century, are especially important. One is a large amphora which is decorated on each side with the head of a horse. The second is a *deinos* of characteristic shape with a rounded bottom which was made to be set on a stand or tripod (Fig. 17). It is covered with decorative scenes arranged in three horizontal bands, of which the upper has a series of palmettes and lotuses with groups of small figures between them. In the central band scenes are portrayed with figures on a larger scale, the main group representing the Calydonian boar hunt.

The story of Atalante and the boar hunt is frequently told in classical literature and is a popular subject in ancient art. It appears on the François vase in Florence and as on that vase the actors here have their names painted beside them in early Attic letters. The great boar, which occupies the centre of the picture, has thrown down and slain a man named Pegaïos. This name is perfectly clear on the vase but it is not otherwise known in the literary and artistic tradition of this legend. In front of the boar is Meleager who is thrusting a spear into the animal's mouth, and behind him



stands Atalante, who is followed by a man, only the first letter of whose name, P, is preserved. This is undoubtedly Peleus who is traditionally represented as playing an aggressive rôle in the combat. The boar is attacked from behind by a dog which has leaped against its haunches. Then comes a man named Geron, another new character in this myth, who is running up with a poised spear, and finally Akastos approaches holding a dog by the leash with the left hand and ready to hurl a stone with the right. The



Fig. 16. Archaic Terracotta Bust

lowest band of the vase is decorated with groups of animals of orientalizing type, a boar between two sirens and a bull between two lions. This important example of Attic black-figured ware is particularly interesting because of the new elements in the mythological scene.

The most southern sector of the excavations, Stigma, which lies at the base of the north slope of the Areopagus, was cleared under the supervision of Miss Burr. Here, as in Delta, the deposit of earth was slight and the cellars of some of the modern houses extended almost down to bedrock. In the absence of heavy foundations public buildings probably did not exist here, but there are considerable remains of a Roman house, with arrangements for its hot bath, in the eastern part of the area. Sections of Greek walls are also preserved and stretches of a street or road of the Greek period. An elaborate system of underground drains and water-channels was uncovered, and many

wells and cisterns were cleared with profitable results. But in the midst of later cuttings for pipes and walls, spared by some mysterious chance, stood urn burials and unrifled graves of the early Geometric period. Topographically, therefore, this area was presumably outside the limits of the Geometric town, and in classical times it seems to have been behind the region occupied by the public monuments of the market place.

One of the most important discoveries in the section was a deposit of early votive terracotta objects which will be fully described in a later article by Miss Burr. The



Fig. 17. Deinos with the Calydonian Boar Hunt

Geometric burials are also of great interest. Two amphoras which were standing near each other give a characteristic picture of the type of interment. The hard-pan was cut in a round hole barely large enough to receive the vase which was placed in it. The body was partially burned near-by and the remnants of the charred bones were deposited in the vase. Its mouth was covered by a bowl and finally stones were packed about the top, and the area was entirely paved with a layer of small stones. It is a surprising phenomenon that these burials should have remained untouched in areas which have been thickly settled throughout the ages. The result is, of course, purely accidental and probably many graves, similar to those found, were destroyed in the course of the construction of modern house foundations.

One of the burial amphoras is illustrated in Figure 18. It has horizontal handles on the sides and is decorated on the shoulder with a series of seven concentric semi-circles,

at the centre of which are figures with the shape of the hour-glass. A triple wave-line is painted in dark brown on a broad buff band about the body, while above and below this are bands of black glossy paint of varying widths. These stylistic motives represent



Fig. 18. Proto-geometric Amphora

the survival of Mycenaean ornamentation, and their presence marks the vase as a product of the transitional period between the Mycenaean and the Geometric. This type of vase is, therefore, called proto-geometric and may be dated about 1000 B.C. The mouth of the amphora was stopped by a small bowl which fitted tightly in its neck. Similar burial practices from Geometric times have been reported at other sites and were commonly in vogue in the Geometric cemetery at Corinth. It is probable that



grain or other dry foodstuffs were deposited in the bowl. The amphora itself contained, in addition to the charred bones, two large brooches and two stick pins, all made of iron, a metal which was still rare in the Geometric age.

Besides the urns cist graves were also used for burials. One of these again illustrates the combined practice of cremation and inhumation. An oblong cutting in the hard-pan was made for the grave, in and about which were many traces of fire, while only pieces of the bones remained. It was presumably covered with a layer of small stones beneath



Fig. 19. Geometric Pyxis

which the vases were placed; and part of its north wall was built of stones necessitated by the slope of the rock. Among the ten vases in the grave were three pyxides or toilet-boxes, one of which is shown in Figure 19. By analogy with the graves at Corinth the presence of the pyxides would mark this as the grave of a woman, and in some of the Corinthian graves the boxes still contained cubes of carbonate of lead which were used as cosmetics by the women.

Besides the archaic terracottas from the votive deposit many other terracotta objects and moulds for figurines were found in this area. One of the finest pieces is the statuette of a seated woman whose ample himation is arranged in folds which are similar to those on the seated female figures from the east pediment of the Parthenon. The figure may represent the Mother of the Gods whose cult-statue in the Metroon was

made by Pheidias. Another terracotta which has affiliations of style with the sculpture of the Parthenon is the plaque shown in Figure 20. This is an ancient trial cast in terracotta made from a mould, and is a complete unit in itself. The mould was intended to be used for a cast in bronze or silver, but before the cast in precious metal was made the mould was tested with the cheaper material. The scene is a combat between two youths. The one on horseback is of slight build and approximates the size of



Fig. 20. Terracotta Plaque

Amazons who are represented in scenes similar to this on fourth century reliefs. The modelling of the bodies, the treatment of the drapery, the symmetry of the pose of the group, the restrained suggestion of violent action, and the type and pose of the horse are characteristics which mark this as a work of the latter part of the fifth or of the early part of the fourth century B.C.

In the series of terracottas secured in the season's campaign one can follow the development of this art from its primitive stage in the eighth century B.C. to the period of its highest and finest expression in the fifth and fourth centuries, and then trace its gradual decline until in the fourth century A.D. it has reverted to as crude and primitive a state as it exhibited 1200 years earlier.

The excavation of the eastern part of Sector Stigma was directed by Dr. Thompson. Some exploratory digging had been done here in 1897 by Dörpfeld, in the course of which he uncovered part of a Roman house (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478). The house proves to consist of several rooms, one of which is a hypocaust. The furnace for the heating system lies at the back of the building where it was built against the scarp of the cliff on the south. The rooms are in a poor state of preservation but two building



Fig. 21. Attic Black-figured Skyphos

periods can be discerned. The house appears to have been destroyed at the close of the fourth century A.D.

The presence of the house confirms the evidence of the many wells and cisterns in support of the view that this was a residential district, and, again, the objects from the wells have proved to be of great intrinsic interest and of much chronological value. A large pithos yielded a quantity of objects of the Hellenistic period, including lamps, Megarian bowls, other pottery and some terracottas which are approximately uniform in date, and the date itself is verified by the presence of several coins of Athens which are placed in the first half of the third century B.C. A deposit of earlier date was found in a well which extended to a depth of 9.50 m. Practically all the vases, which date from the sixth century B.C. were lying in the lowest metre of the deposit. Several of the pieces are important specimens of early Attic pottery. A black-figured skyphos



with an interesting scene is illustrated in Figure 21. The space on either side of the vase is occupied by a group consisting of a youth riding an hippalektryon between two draped standing women who are facing the rider. The youth is reining in his animal who is prancing with its equine forelegs while the woman in front is gazing with astonishment at the spectacle. Purple color is used on parts of the figures and traces



Fig. 22. Lead Weight

of white are also preserved. Beneath the handles there is a goose on one side and a cock on the other.

The excavations have produced many classes of objects in large numbers. The lamps are becoming so increasingly numerous that it will be presently possible to illustrate graphically the entire development of the lamp-making industry in Athens from the earliest to the latest times. The many bronze and silver coins not only reveal the sequence of Athenian issues but they also throw light on the foreign commercial relations of the city in their many ramifications. The inscribed documents furnish historical and chronological information of inestimable value. Quite appropriately the Agora has also yielded a series of official weights, seven of lead and four of marble. The largest lead weight, which has the head of Athena in the centre and is stamped with the letters

ΔΕΜΟ, weighs 1790 grammes (Fig. 22). Two of the marble pieces weigh the same and the third but slightly less. Another lead unit weighs 440 grammes. Previous investigators have determined the weight of the Solonian mina at from 440 to 400 grammes. The weight just mentioned, therefore, would be one mina and the others would be approximately four minae. Another lead which is stamped with the amphora weighs 320 gr., or about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mina, and still another gives a weight of 225 gr., or about half a mina. Four of the weights were found in a well which contained nothing later than the third century B.C., and they should, consequently, conform to the Solonian standard, but

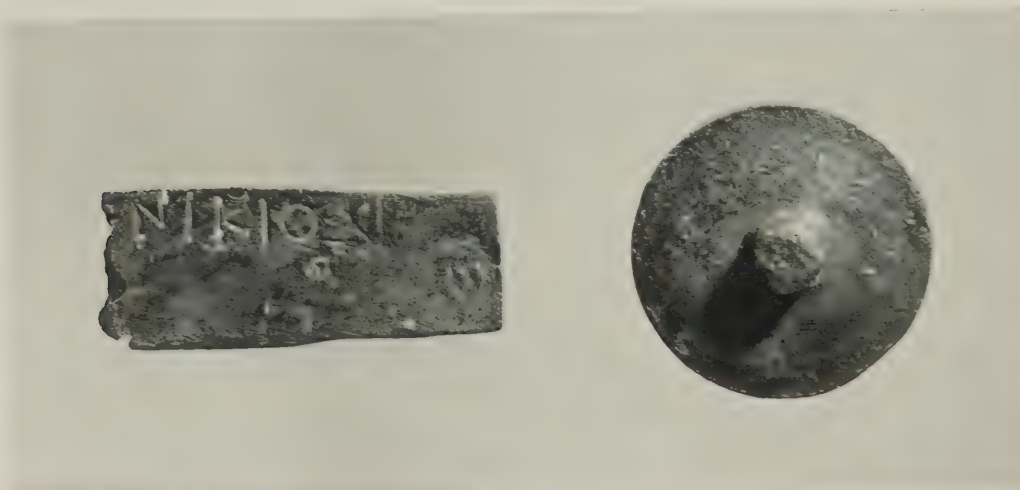


Fig. 23. Dicast's Ticket and Ballot

accuracy of official weights was evidently not considered essential for trading in the markets of Athens.

One small group of objects is of interest as illustrating the judicial system of the Athenians. These are the bronze tickets and ballots used by the dicasts or jurors in the performance of their duties in the law courts. One of the tickets, which belonged to a man named Nikion, is shown on the left of the picture in Figure 23. On the right of the picture is a bronze ballot which the juror used for registering his decision. Since this example has a solid hub it served as a vote for acquittal. These bronzes date from the fourth century B.C. and are contemporaneous with Aristotle's account of the system in his *Constitution of Athens*.

The various objects found in the excavations are being studied by members of the staff and they will be published in preliminary form in successive volumes of *Hesperia*.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

## A GNOSTIC AMULET

An amulet of the Gnostic or syncretistic type in green jasper was one of the many objects of minor art which came to light during the excavations of the Athenian Agora in 1932.<sup>1</sup> Dr. T. L. Shear, who conducted the excavations, and who has kindly allowed me to publish the amulet, reports that it was found in an unstratified deposit. The common design on the obverse is a hybrid of which the head and neck are those of a cock, the trunk and arms human, while the extremities are serpentine, symmetrically arranged in side view (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The human torso wears a close-fitting cuirass over a sleeved Persian (?) tunic which appears below like a kilt as on other gems. In some cases this kilt seems to be attached directly to the cuirass. It serves to mask the transition from human to serpentine form. This hybrid or Abrasax holds in his right hand a whip with pendent lash, and on the left arm a shield, the inner side of which bears the inscription: IAW IAHI EHI OYW MIN. Here the names of Iao above and Min below enclose a group of vowels some of which are arranged in alphabetical order. Professor Bonner, who first recognized the name of Min, states that he knows of no other instance of its connection with the Abrasax type.<sup>3</sup> In the field are five stars, corresponding in number to the five letters which are symmetrically placed below the Abrasax. This carefully cut inscription is to be read from right to left, as is shown by the letter 3. The five letters are the initials of five deities of the Mithraic pantheon: Mithras, Helios, Selene, Zeus, and Nike. The reason for such identification lies in the fact that Gnosticism and Mithraism had much in common.<sup>4</sup> Cumont mentions a Gnostic



Fig. 1. Gnostic Amulet from the Athenian Agora

<sup>1</sup> The amulet is 18 mm. high, 13 mm. broad, and 4 mm. thick.

<sup>2</sup> King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pls. 17A, 1; 26, 2-3; 37B, 5; 43, 2.

<sup>3</sup> I am greatly obliged to Professor Bonner, who kindly gave me the benefit of his criticism of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> Anz, *Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, p. 79.



sect in Gaul the members of which changed their names from Heliognosti to Deinviatiaci, i.e., worshippers of the deus invictus (Mithras).<sup>1</sup> It is a curious coincidence that the name of Mithras spelt *Μεθρας* not only contains the same number of letters as Abrasax but that these two names have the same numerical value, 365.<sup>2</sup>

The syncretism of the two cults expressed itself in art. The Abrasax of the Athenian amulet occurs in simplified form on another Gnostic charm (Fig. 2) on the reverse of which is the name Mithrax (*Μιθραξ*) as if to rhyme with Abrasax.<sup>3</sup> Such syncretism readily explains the appearance of the abbreviated names of Mithraic gods beneath an Abrasax. The sequence of the first two names, Mithras and Helios, is that (*Μιθροῦ* 'Ηλίου') of the Greek inscription at Nemrud Dagħ carved at the order of Antiochus,

whose family was part Persian.<sup>4</sup> The sequence of the names Helios and Selene is that of their days Sunday and Monday, and is found not only in Mithraic inscriptions<sup>5</sup> but in literature. Porphyry tells us that it is necessary to consider the sun as the leader of the gods but "to rank the moon in the second place."<sup>6</sup> Julian, in a letter to the Athenians (275 b) informs them that he was protected by Athena, who brought angels from Helios and Selene. A Mithraic inscription mentions several deities, Soli, Lunae, ... genio Jovis, ... genio Victoriae ... in the order in which they occur in the inscription on

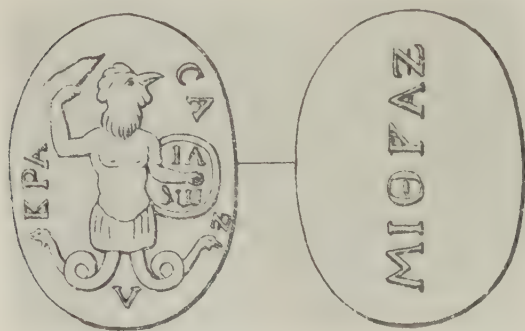


Fig. 2. Syncretistic Amulet formerly in the Capello Museum at Venice

the Athenian amulet.<sup>7</sup> The concluding names, Zeus and Nike, recall the watchword *Ζεὺς σωτήρ καὶ Νίκη* which the soldiers of Xenophon used with the approval of the Persian Cyrus.<sup>8</sup> Their sequence is the equivalent of Zeus Nikator, the Olympian Zeus with Nike as his attribute. Since the Abrasax carries a shield, and since the Mithraic cult was preëminently a soldier's cult, the presence of Nike in the list of deities invoked is quite logical. Nike is represented writing on shields in Greek and Roman art, especially

<sup>1</sup> *Textes et Monuments*, I, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, I, p. 201. An amulet bearing the form *Μεθρας*, is suspected (Cumont II, p. 452).

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451; in Venice in 1702.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90. In a relief found at Virunum (Cumont, II, p. 336) a subordinate position of Helios with reference to Mithras is suggested. Mithras seizes Helios by the hair and seems about to strike him. Helios touches the knee of Mithras in supplication(?). The Persian costume of the one and the Greek of the other confirm the interpretation of the scene as a conflict between the Persian and Greek solar god. Above this scene is represented the reconciliation of the two.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, II, pp. 108, 114, 126, 128, 157, 166.

<sup>6</sup> *De Abstinencia*, II, 36.

<sup>7</sup> Cumont, II, p. 167.

<sup>8</sup> *Anabasis*, I, 8, 16.

on gems and coins.<sup>1</sup> The shield of the Abrasax frequently bears an inscription. The initials ΝΖΖΗΜ are suggestive of the Christian acrostic ΙΧΘΥΣ although the former do not spell a symbol.

The Abrasax of the Athenian amulet invites close attention. Its elements are all to be found in Mithraic art. The cock which contributes head and neck to the Abrasax appears in several monuments, though not as part of a hybrid.<sup>2</sup> As the herald of the rising sun, the cock is appropriate in the monuments of a solar god. It was sacred to Helios.<sup>3</sup> The Greeks regarded the cock as a Persian fowl. Aristophanes called it *Περσικὸς ὄρνις*,<sup>4</sup> and Cratinus *Περσικὸς ἀλέκτωρ*.<sup>5</sup> The torso of the Abrasax is that of a warrior with



Fig. 3. Lead Tablet from Aegina

whip and shield. The whip with pendent lash is found in Mithraic representations of the sun-god.<sup>6</sup> The sleeved tunic is probably borrowed from representations of Persian warriors. The third element of the Abrasax is the serpentine extremity. The serpent plays a very important part in Mithraic cult, appearing in both the tauroctony and the Kronos. Even the anguipede giant occurs in Mithraic relief.<sup>7</sup>

The Mithraic associations of the Abrasax are strikingly illustrated by a lead plaque which was found many years ago in the island of Aegina (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> The Abrasax of this

<sup>1</sup> Mironow, *Die Siegesgöttin in der griech. Plastik*, pls. III–IV; pp. 157 (coins), 158 (gems).

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 207, 221, 238, 377; I, 210. The example on p. 238 shows the cock associated with Kronos.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias, V, 25, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Birds*, 485, 707. Athenaeus, XIV, 655 A, says the cock came from Persia.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke, *Frag. Com. Graec.*, I, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, p. 202 (from the Esquiline). In the relief from Virunum dated by Cumont (II, p. 338) to the second century, the sun god holds the whip in two successive scenes.

<sup>7</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 264, 336; I, p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Eph.*, 1862, p. 302; pl. 45, no. 1. For other examples of the Abrasax on lead tablets v. A. Procopé-Walter, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*, 1933, p. 45.



plaque is tripartite like that of the Athenian amulet, except that it has the head of the crow. The "crow" was the title of the first degree of the Mithraic initiation, and the initiate of that degree wore a crow's head as a mask, being so represented in art.<sup>1</sup> On the shield of the Aeginetan Abrasax is the name Iao which is the epigraphical counterpart of the Zeus upon the shield of Hyperbius described by Aeschylus.<sup>2</sup> Instead of a whip, the Abrasax holds a temple-key such as appears in the hands of a priestess in Attic grave stelae<sup>3</sup> and as a sepulchral symbol in Attica in Roman times.<sup>4</sup> Two keys are a regular attribute of the Mithraic Kronos, but they are not of the temple type. It is possible that the artist who first conceived the Abrasax type combined the benevolent Ophiomorphus of the Phrygian Gnostics with Mithraic elements. This hybrid seems to incorporate two at least of the Mithraic degrees: "crow" and "soldier." On the reverse of the Aeginetan amulet are seven names of angels: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Ananael, Prosoirael, and Umsael(?). This list corresponds exactly in the first six names with that on an Abrasax amulet published in 1647 by Macarius.<sup>5</sup> The name Uriel occurs also on the Athenian amulet in two successive lines:  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{I}\text{H}\text{A} \\ \text{P}\text{OY} \end{smallmatrix}$ .

The Abrasax type which is of frequent occurrence was probably created at some important centre of art. The Mithraic elements of the type raise the question whether it may have been carved at Pergamon, which gave Mithraism the sculptured version of its very important tauroctony.<sup>6</sup> The model for the Abrasax may have been the Pergamene anguipede giant which found its way not only to Aphrodisias in Caria<sup>7</sup> but even to remote Gandhara.<sup>8</sup> An inscription on a Gnostic amulet in private possession at Syrian Antioch, which Professor Bonner reads as follows:  $\gamma\gamma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\rho\eta\gamma\iota\alpha, \beta\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha \beta\alpha\rho\omega\varphi\iota\tau\alpha$  and translates: "utter destroyer of giants, slayer of barbarians, crusher of serpents," sounds like a description of Zeus in the frieze on the great altar at Pergamon. The title "slayer of barbarians" is especially suggestive because the gigantomachy of the frieze is a version in terms of gods and giants of the great struggle between the Pergamenes and the barbarians of Galatia. It is quite possible that the Abrasax type was carved also at Tarsus, the coins of which in the third century represent Mithras in a scene of the tauroctony wearing the same kilt as the Abrasax.<sup>9</sup>

The figure on the reverse of the Athenian amulet is Harpocrates seated upon a lotus-flower. On either side of him are inscriptions in which the seven vowels appear:

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Septem*, 512.

<sup>3</sup> Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, II, CLV.

<sup>4</sup> Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, s. v. sera, p. 1242.

<sup>5</sup> Cabrol, *Dict. Chrét.*, s. v. Anges, p. 2157 (LeClercq). The last name is Yabsae(l).

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 182-3, 214.

<sup>7</sup> Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, III, 158; pl. 158ter.

<sup>8</sup> Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, 245.

<sup>9</sup> Leipoldt, *Die Religion des Mithra*, fig. 14.

EH	Ϸ
IOY	□
WH	N
IHA	NI
POY	PH
PΔ	WΦ
XAP	W
ITW	

Below Harpocrates are the letters YWYWCW

EHIOY

W

The inscription on the bevel is AΔWNAIE ABPACAΞ AEHIOYW IAW CABAΩΘ  
Adonai, Abrasax, AEHIOYΩ, Yahweh of hosts.

G. W. ELDERKIN



## SELECTED GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

The first report of inscriptions found in the Ancient Agora during the course of excavations by the American School of Classical Studies was presented this year by Professor Meritt in Volume II of *Hesperia*, pp. 149–169. The supplementary report, here published, contains three inscriptions found in the second campaign (1932) and four others found at the beginning of the third season. The inscriptions, published in each year, will be numbered consecutively as of that year. A map showing the sections of the Agora and the houses (with numbers), to which reference is made in the following pages, may be consulted in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99.

### 11.

#### AN EPIGRAM OF SIMONIDES

Part of a block of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house, 636/17, in Section Θ, on December 8, 1932. The top, the bottom, the left side and the inscribed front have been partially preserved. The block is broken away at the right and the back.

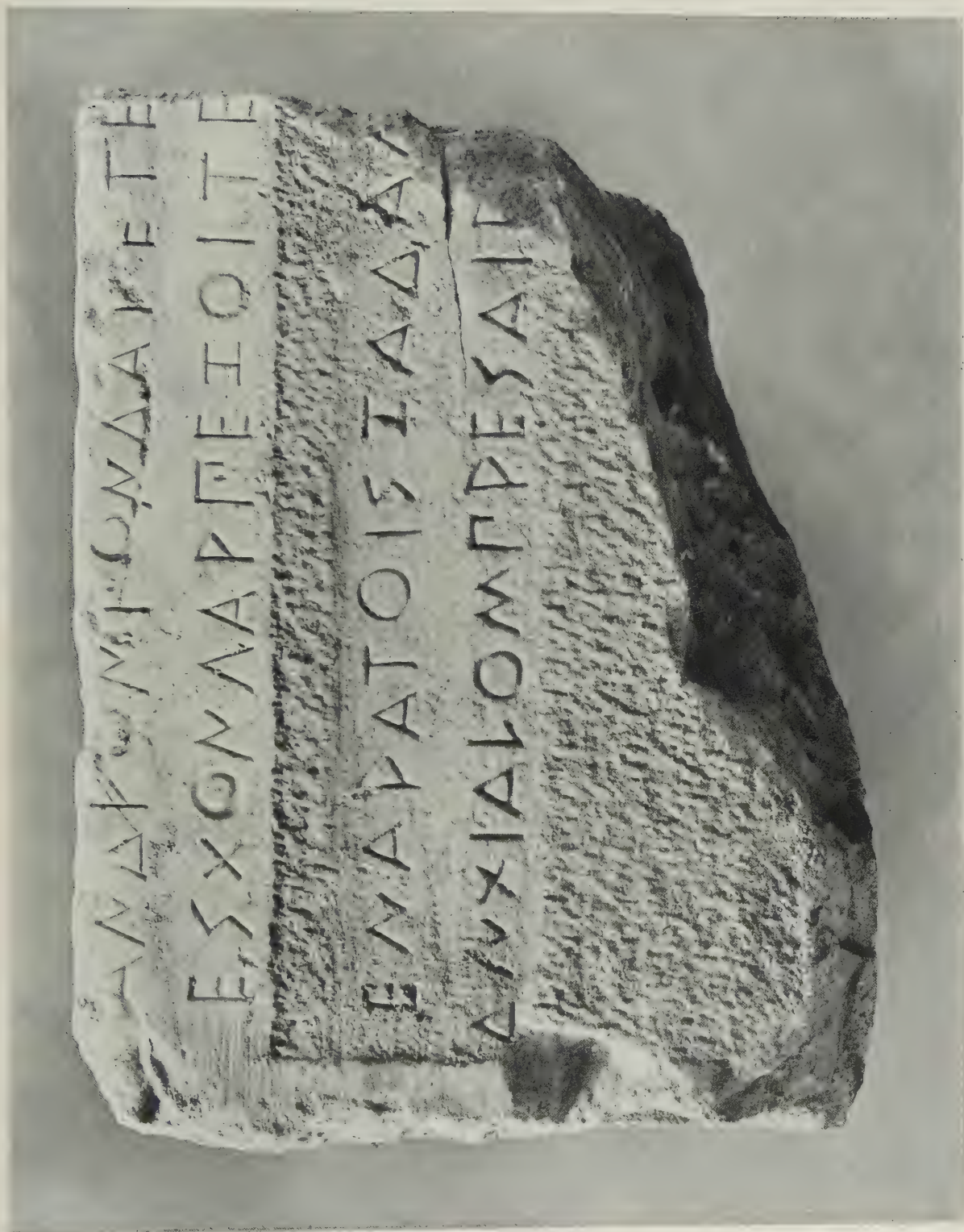
Height, 0.215 m.; maximum width, 0.281 m.; maximum thickness, 0.177 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.–0.015 m.

Inv. No. 3536 I 303.

The stone is a fragment of a cenotaph, erected at Athens, to commemorate the men who had fallen in the battle of Marathon. A larger fragment of the same monument,<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 763, 0.46 m. wide, is now in the Epigraphical Museum, and itself, but not its character, has long been known. It, likewise, has a preserved surface above and below.

<sup>1</sup> It was found during some digging in the courtyard of a house on Hadrian Street, east of the Acropolis, and was first made known by A. R. Rangabé in the *Antiquités Helléniques*, vol. II (Athens, 1855), p. 397, no. 784 b. A. Kirchhoff published it again in the *Monatsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1869, 412–416, and in *I.G.*, I, p. 177, no. 333, with a drawing (cf. *I.G.*, I, Supp., p. 40). Among other things he called attention to the difference in the character of the writing in the two bands. The most important subsequent discussions of the fragment are the following: Franz Winter, *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VIII, 1893, p. 152, note 13; A. Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, 487–491, with a photograph of the stone beside a photograph of the old Hecatompædon inscription (Plate IX); E. Bormann, *Festschrift für Th. Gomperz* (Vienna, 1902), 474–478, and *Jahresheft des österr. arch. Institutes*, VI, 1903, 241–247; L. Weber, *Philologus*, LXXVI, 1920, 60–67. It was published also by the following: G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 749; E. S. Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, no. 64 (with a drawing illustrating its unique appearance); Roberts-Gardner, no. 177 (likewise with a drawing); E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*, no. 266; J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme*, no. 65; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Historische griechische Epigramme*, no. 11.

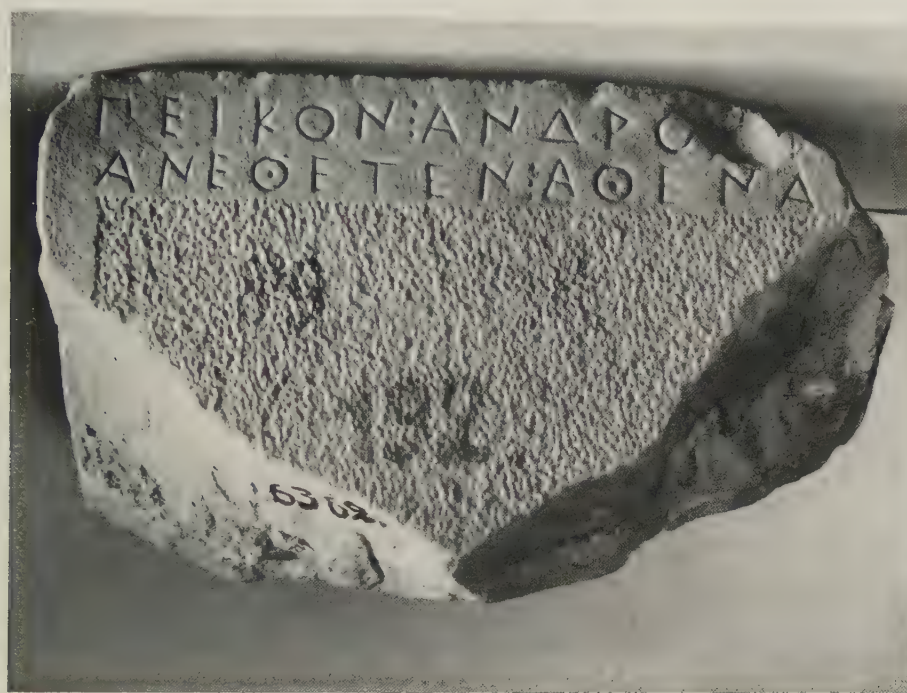






IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 763

The whole original stone must have been slightly more than one metre wide. The older fragment, with somewhat more than a third of the original inscription, extended toward the right from about the centre; the right edge has not been preserved at all, and the upper part of the face of the stone has been chipped away in places. The face of the new fragment from the Agora is in good condition except for damage to the lower part, where there never was an inscription. It constitutes about one fourth, so that we



*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 635

now have, approximately, two-thirds of the original front. This may be described as decorated in two planes. Across the top ran a smooth band, 0.055 m. high, and 0.016 m. below this ran another smooth band of the same height. The second lies somewhat deeper in the stone than the first. These two bands carry the inscription, two epigrams, each inscribed by a different hand. Around the sides and the bottom of the stone ran a smooth margin,<sup>1</sup> 0.025 m. wide, at the same level as the first band, of which it formed a continuation. The rest of the stone is rough-picked, and this portion is about on the same level as the upper band and the margin, or negligibly deeper, and it is clearly not as deep as the lower band.

<sup>1</sup> Along the side it is preserved on the Agora piece. Along the bottom it is scarcely discernible on the Agora piece but clearly visible on the old fragment.



The process through which the stone passed to arrive at this peculiarity of arrangement, may be reconstructed as follows. Most of the front, all of which had at first been prepared as a smooth surface, was artificially rough-picked in such a way as to leave a smooth margin along the sides and bottom, and along the top a band of smoothly prepared surface for the inscription. Perhaps the letters were inscribed before the picking occurred. More frequently in early dedications this rough-picking for decorative purposes was not executed; the whole face would be left smooth, and the inscription would not be centred on the stone, but instead would run along the top. On the other hand, the rough-picking was by no means an uncommon decoration, of which the stone, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 635 (see illustration), furnishes a good example.<sup>1</sup> The latter has a margin of the same width (0.025 m.) as the stone from the Agora; the band along the top is merely a half centimetre higher; and the rough-picking is exceedingly shallow. Thus, the stone to which the fragment from the Agora belonged, had at one time presented a perfectly normal appearance with a two line inscription along the top. At some later time it received the second epigram, inscribed by a different and inferior hand but in characters that could not have been chronologically far separated from the first, if at all. To receive the two additional lines another band had to be smoothed on the rough-picked portion of the stone, and consequently the second band lay at a deeper level than the rest of the surface.<sup>2</sup>

On the fragment from the Agora the left side is preserved. It is decorated precisely as the front had originally been decorated except for the absence of any inscription. At the upper edge ran a smooth band, 0.055 m. high, along the other edges a smooth margin, 0.025 m. wide, both actually preserved on the right. The rest was rough-picked, but it is clearly not a case of any genuine anathyrosis. The smooth margin continued around the bottom, and while anathyrosis on four sides would be possible, it would be very unusual; but the width of the smooth band above and the similarity to the decoration of the front of the block indicate that the arrangement was also here a decorative feature, and that the side was, therefore, an exposed surface.

Adding the fragment from the Agora (a) to the old one (b), we have the following inscription, of which each line is a complete elegiac couplet.

a	b	CTOIX
I ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετὴ [- - - - -] ΑΙΕ! [- - - - -] Περσῶν (ῥ) [- - - - -] ἔσχον γὰρ περὶ τοὺς βαρβαρόφρονον αὐτῶν ἡλλάδα μὲ πασαν δούλιο ἔμαρ ἰδεῖν.		
II ἔν ἄρα τοῖς ζαδαμ[υσι] — μέγα κῦδος ἡότ' αἰχμῇν    στῆσαι πρόσθε πνλῶν ἀγ[υ] — υῦ   — ἀνχίαλοι προῆσαι P[υ] — υῦ   — υῦ   — <    ἄστυ, βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι] δύναιεν.		NON CTOIX

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphical Museum 6362. For the type with rough-picking one might compare also nos. 6308, 6289, and 6336 in the Epigraphical Museum.

<sup>2</sup> This was recognized as the correct explanation by Dörpfeld and Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, 490. Traces of the former rough-picking are clearly visible on the second band.



Line 1: ΑΙΕΙ.—Enough of the surface remains to assure the reading for the second letter, but the vertical hasta of the fourth letter might belong to iota or tau. Also enough of the surface remains to show that the three circles which would mark the end of the hexameter, could not have followed immediately after the fourth letter.

Line 1: Περρῶ[ν].—The rho is quite clear. B. D. Meritt thought he could read the four other letters. I think I can see the epsilon and the sigma, but I am very uncertain about the word.

Line 2: πεζοί.—Compare Herodotus (VI, 112) on the battle of Marathon: οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι δρόντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς δεξόμενοι, μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρὴν, δρόντες αὐτοὺς ἐόντας ὀλίγους καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξενμάτων.

Line 2: τέ[ν βαρβαρόφρονον ἀντέ]ν.—B. D. Meritt suggested to me this restoration as a possibility. Evidently the object of the verb ἔσχον must have followed, for it could not have stood in the preceeding line because of the particle γάρ.

Line 2: ἡλλά[δα μ]έ.—The restoration μέ was first suggested by G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 749, and part of the lowest horizontal stroke of the epsilon is actually there on the stone to confirm it.

Line 2: δούλιο[ν ἔμαρ ἰδεῖν].—Kirchhoff's restoration.

Line 3: ζαδαμ[ῶσι].—The reading mu is quite probable, less likely gamma or nu. Neither a name nor any familiar Greek word began with the letter combination, ζαδα-, and there can be no question about the reading of those first four letters. Therefore we are confronted with a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. The Homeric dialect employed as a future for the word δαμάζω the forms δαμάξ, δαμάα and δαμόωσι. With the contraction regular in Attic we should have the form δαμῶσι as the dative plural of the future participle. On the analogy of a poetic word like ζαμενέω, *to put forth all one's fury*, we arrive at the restoration suggested in the text. The word would mean *those who were about to make a complete conquest*. I regard an adjective ζαδάμ[οις] as another possibility.

Line 3: ῥότ'.—In front of the omicron may be discerned a vertical stroke. Since it goes down to the bottom of the line, the reading Γ is excluded. The vertical hasta is closer to the omicron than the upright of the tau which follows the omicron. Therefore it can belong only to an Η (or an Ι). Both H. T. Wade-Gery and B. D. Meritt have also seen it.

Line 3: ἀν[ ].—The angle at which the first stroke of the last letter stands seems less suitable to a gamma than to a nu.

Line 4: The last letter of the new fragment is either rho or beta.

Line 4: κλινάμενο[ι δύναμιν].—Kirchhoff's restoration.

The inscription is speaking of a great battle in the Persian Wars, of a land battle where an Athenian victory saved all Hellas. Although the character of the monument to which the epigrams belonged has not hitherto been recognized, the battle to which

they refer was correctly identified by Kirchhoff, who interpreted both epigrams as dealing with the battle of Marathon. Wilhelm showed that the first epigram with its exceptionally handsome lettering was inscribed by the same man who in 485/4 did the old Hecatompedon inscription. That the first epigram deals with Marathon, has not really been disputed. Bormann suggested that the second dealt with Thermopylae and Salamis. Even in 1919, however, F. Hiller von Gaertringen<sup>1</sup> did not take this proposal seriously, and the hypothesis, in 1920, was thoroughly refuted by L. Weber, because as the word *αἰχμή* shows, it is a question of a land battle and not of a naval engagement, and because the Athenians at that period would not have celebrated the achievements of the Lacedaemonians on a monument erected to commemorate their own proudest exploit. Therefore Weber agreed with Kirchhoff and Wilhelm that Marathon was meant in both epigrams, and in the new fragment from the Agora there is nothing to impair the plausibility of that interpretation.

The second epigram was inscribed later than the first, but so far as the lettering is concerned, it might have been engraved simultaneously. A monument commemorating the battle of Marathon would have been conspicuous, and when the Persians came to Athens they would not have been likely to stare at the inscription all winter long, so that it presumably did not survive the destruction of Athens in 480, certainly not the final destruction in 479. Precisely the inscribed base would have been the offensive part of the monument. A strong indication that the latter was not replaced afterward lies in the fact that the ancient writers never quote the text of either epigram.

Moreover, the contents of the last two lines indicate a date earlier than 480. Even were it thinkable that such a monument might be selected to receive an epigram on the warriors of another battle, obviously no one would have praised the heroes by saying, "They let the Persians burn Athens first and then they defeated them." So whatever may be the construction of the words preserved, the meaning is evidently as follows: "Driving back the Persian host, they prevented the barbarians from burning the town by the sea (namely, Athens)."

Now these remarks apply only to the victors of Marathon. If, however, the last two lines, emphasizing the fact that the victors of Marathon had prevented the Persians from destroying the city, were not written until after Salamis or Plataea, there would be an invidious comparison in the words: Themistocles and the men who fought at Salamis and Plataea did allow the city to be destroyed. But the great victory of Salamis had justified the policy of Themistocles, and after the return to Athens the government might have re-erected the old monument, if it had not been demolished, but they would certainly not have added such an epigram.

All the problems, as well as this one which concerns the origin of the lower band, have been much confused, because those who treated the old fragment did not understand the character of the monument to which it belonged.

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, LIV, 1919, 215.

For example, L. Weber, accounting for the second epigram as an addition made after the victory of Salamis but likewise concerning the battle of Marathon, explained the dedication as a base for a herm, standing in the Stoa of the Herms, and like those mentioned by Aeschines (*Ctes.* 183–185). As soon, however, as we remove the false presumption that the second epigram must have been inscribed after the battle of Salamis, the whole theory, for which there never was any real evidence in the first place, falls to the ground. Moreover, the opening words of the Eion epigram to which Weber pointed, in no wise postulate the existence of the stone found in the Agora. The Eion epigram is of a different type. Nor does the provenance of the two fragments lend support to Weber's theory. They were easily transportable. The smaller fragment, to be sure, was found in the Agora, but above ground and not in that part of the Agora where presumably the Stoa of the Herms was situated. The Stoa lay probably more to the north end.<sup>1</sup> The older fragment Rangabé found on the other side of the Acropolis!

But the true character of the monument can be determined from the opening words on the new fragment, ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετέ. The demonstrative pronoun οἷδε, as used here, would be quite out of place on a monument like a herm. A list of names must have accompanied the epigram. They were not the names of all who took part in the battle, for that was not the custom, nor was it possible on account of the number. The Marathon epigram will find its parallel on the sepulchral monuments or lists of the slain. In type it closely resembles an epigram such as that on the stele, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943, where the names were inscribed of those who fell in the Chersonese, in Thrace, and at Byzantium about 440/39 B.C.:

hoíde παρ' ἡλλέσποντον ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἥβην  
 βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ' εὐκλείϊσασιν πατρίδα,  
 hóστ' ἐχθρὸς στενάχευ πολέμο θέρως ἐκκομίσαντας,  
 αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθάνατον μνῆμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.<sup>2</sup>

In appearance this stele (see the illustration, A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Tafel CCXCIII A, the stele on the right), is an ordinary grave monument, except that it has a long list of names. Below the names of the fallen stands the epigram. Where a grave stele is set in an appropriate marble base, the epigram would be inscribed on the base, as in the case of the Pythagoras monument, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1034, which Conze illustrates *ibidem* on the left.

<sup>1</sup> W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed. (1931), p. 370, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the epigram A. P. VII, 258, on which this was modeled:

Οἷδε παρ' Εὐρυμέδοντά ποτ' ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἥβην  
 μαρνάμενοι Μήδων τοξοφόρων προμάχοις  
 αἰχμηταὶ πεζοὶ τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν·  
 κάλλιστον δ' ἀρετῆς μνῆμ' ἔλιπον φέμενοι.



Therefore, we can identify the stone with the Marathon epigram as a marble base for a stele containing the list of the fallen. Since we know approximately how many syllables would have been in each line, and since we have the left margin on the fragment found in the Agora, from the syllables actually preserved we can measure the length of the line and the width of the stone. From this it appears that the base must have been slightly more than one metre across. By analogy with other monuments, it ought to have supported a stele at least 0.60 m. wide, on which were inscribed the names of the one-hundred-and-ninety-two men who had fallen at Marathon. It was customary to group the names according to tribes; so in the list proper there would have been 202 places, *i.e.* the names of the one-hundred-and-ninety-two men who had fallen and the names of the ten tribes. We can check our calculations and see whether a stele 0.60 m. wide would have been suitable for a list containing 202 places. It so happens that another stele, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, that erected by the tribe Erechtheis and containing a single year's losses at the beginning of the first Peloponnesian War, is actually 0.59 m. wide. The names are arranged in three columns, and column I contains 67 places. In the three columns, accordingly, with the same lettering and the same spacing there was room for 201 names, a total which corresponds almost exactly to our requirements. Therefore, we can reconstruct the monument for the men who fell at Marathon as a stele of Pentelic marble, about 1.50 m. high and at least 0.60 m. wide, set in a marble base, 0.215 m. high and slightly more than one metre across. The names were grouped according to tribes and arranged in three columns, above which might have been the simple legend *hoïde ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἀπέθανον*.

It did not, however, stand over a real grave, because the men who fell at Marathon were buried on the battle field. Of course there would have been also in Athens a monument for the dead heroes, and in the stone with the epigram we have now discovered part of it. Just as the Corinthians who fell in the battle of Salamis were buried at Salamis, but received the honor of a cenotaph on the Isthmus too, so for the men who died at Marathon the Athenians erected at Athens a monument, to which could be attached the worship of the great dead (Heroenkult) in the usual place, and which, on the Acropolis or together with the other monuments of the public cemetery, would constantly hold before the eyes of Athenians the memory of those patriots who had given their lives for the city.

Fortunately we know who was the author of the epigram on the men who fell at Marathon. The information is preserved for us in the Life of Aeschylus (§ 8, p. 4 Wilamowitz). The writer recalls a difference of opinion as to why Aeschylus went to Syracuse: ἀπῆρε δὲ ὡς Ἰέρωνα, κατὰ τινὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατασπονδασθεῖς, καὶ ἡσσηθεῖς νέῳ ὄντι Σοφοκλεῖ, κατὰ δὲ ἑνίους, ἐν τῷ εἰς τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι τεθνηκότας ἐλεγείῳ ἡσσηθεῖς Σιμωνίδῃ· τὸ γὰρ ἐλεγεῖον πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς λεπτότητος μετέχειν θέλει, ὃ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, ὡς ἔφαμεν, ἐστὶν ἀλλότριον.

From this it appears that there had been a contest for the selection of an epigram to be inscribed on the monument for the fallen, and that the great honor had been

awarded to Simonides. Of course, it is ridiculous as an explanation for the departure of Aeschylus, which took place many years later, and the story would, therefore, never have been invented to account for it. It was clearly a famous old story used to motivate a later event.

Although Hiller, Wilamowitz, Boas, Schmidt, Geffcken, and others rejected it, one still occasionally finds no. 88 Diehl identified as the elegy:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

It is a curious error that never would have arisen except for the absence of the real epitaph. Such an epigram is obviously not an epitaph for the Athenians who fell in the battle. Suidas (*sub Ποικίλῃ*) says plainly that it stood on the great painting which in the Painted Porch depicted the battle of Marathon. Neither he, nor Lycurgus, nor Aelius Aristides, nor the scholiast to the latter, who also quote it, claims for it the authorship of Simonides. Aelius Aristides (p. 511 Dindorf) quotes it simply as an anonymous archaic epigram without offering a word of identification. The misconception that the latter considered it an epigram of Simonides, has been thoroughly refuted, first by Hiller, *Philologus* XLVIII, 1889, pp. 229–238, then by Wilamowitz, *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1897, p. 317, and thirdly by Boas, *De Epigrammatis Simonideis*, 92–96. Furthermore, the only argument that would transform the epigram into an elegy, is based on a modern emendation or an ambiguity in the text of Lycurgus, who, to show the Athenians that the heroic deeds of their ancestors were gratefully recorded on public monuments, quotes it after the epigram on the Lacedaemonians who fell at Thermopylae. The passage, as it stands, is evidently corrupt (*Leocr.* 109): τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ βίου μαρτύρια ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ, πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐκείνοις μὲν ὃ ξεῖν', κτλ., τοῖς δὲ ὑμετέροις προγόνοις Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες, κτλ. Wurm emended the offensive word ὁρίοις to ῥήιοις and deleted the phrase τοῦ βίου. Even so, it might still mean a trophy mound or be nothing more than that awkwardness of expression for which Lycurgus was criticized in antiquity, but an argument based on a dubious passage or a modern emendation should never have weighed at all against the character of the verses and the explicit statement of Suidas. The word of the scholiast to Aristides, that this epigram stood on a stele of Pericles, constitutes a third explanation, less acceptable *per se* but equally useful to our argument. It would not be the elegy of Simonides, inscribed shortly after the battle.

This elegy of Simonides was inscribed only upon the cenotaph at Athens. No epigram stood under the list of the slain, erected at Marathon over the grave itself, for Pausanias (I, 32) gives a description of the latter monument and would certainly have mentioned it. Apparently the one he saw was also the original monument. Pausanias tells how the inhabitants of the region to his day worshiped the spirits of the dead

heroes who were buried under the funeral mound, and if the sanctity of the place had been violated by the Persians, the story would have been handed down.

Furthermore, those who compiled the anthologies, combed the extant monuments for epigrams of Simonides. That on the Athenians who fell at Marathon would have been the first to be collected, and yet we do not find it in the Palatine Anthology. We can explain the gap only by admitting that the monument on which it was inscribed had disappeared. Hence we eliminate the monument over the grave, where Pausanias could still read the names of the fallen. There remains only the cenotaph. The latter never survived the destruction of 479.

In the last forty years, it has grown quite evident that the ascription to Simonides of the many epigrams which have come down to us under his name, does not in most cases rest upon good authority, and some were obviously composed after his death.<sup>1</sup> The later anthologies attributed generously to the great figure of Simonides all the good epigrams of his time, whereas today scientific criticism has done so much to discredit the accuracy of those who compiled the anthologies, that W. Schmid in the volume<sup>2</sup> on Greek Literature before the Attic hegemony finds that only one extant epigram can be attributed to the poet with absolute certainty, namely that on the seer Megistias (no. 83 Diehl). To be sure, a high degree of probability exists in the case of some others, but the whole value of later testimony is discredited, because the later writers drew their information from undiscerning anthologies. That is not the case, however, with the story about the elegy for the men who died at Marathon. The monument had perished before the day of anthologies, and the epigrams both of Simonides and of Aeschylus had fallen into oblivion. There was preserved no such monument with an anonymous epigram, for which the anthology compilers might conceivably invent an authorship. Wilamowitz recognized the anecdote as an old story, but he was puzzled because he knew that no epigram stood upon the mound at Marathon. Now we find that at Athens there had actually existed until 480 another monument, upon which we read the official elegy on the men who had fallen at Marathon.

We can assume, accordingly, that at the cenotaph the two lines inscribed on the base in its original form, contained the epigram of Simonides. It reveals the authorship. Here the word *ἀρετή* appears in the new Simonidean sense. Before his time the word *ἀρετή* had a different meaning on the continent; it was bound up with the idea of worldly position, privilege, or prosperity, and the gods bestowed it. Therefore, as

<sup>1</sup> See in particular M. Boas, *De epigrammatis Simonideis* (Groningen 1905), U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides* (1913), and J. Geffcken's article *Simonides* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie* (1927). Wilamowitz in his article *Simonides der Epigrammatiker*, first published in the *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1897, Heft 3, 306-325, and republished with other comments in *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 192-209, went much too far in his criticism of the legend of Simonides the epigrammatic poet. Compare also J. Geffcken, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Chapter XI, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Handb. d. Altertumsw.*, VII, 1, 1, pp. 510-511.



Wilamowitz has explained,<sup>1</sup> with its new definition of *ἀρετή* as something quite independent of success and entirely dependent upon the individual, the famous reply of Simonides to Scopas, preserved in Plato's *Protagoras*, formulated a new principle and marked a new epoch. Character alone counted instead of the accidents of life. Accordingly Simonides in his encomium (no. 5 Diehl) called the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί*.<sup>2</sup> When a man dies for the fatherland, it is said of him *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο*. It is then and not while living that he achieves *ἀρετή*, the quality which makes the *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός*, and it is then that he receives heroic honors.

The epigram exhibits the characteristic which the ancients recognized as the particular Simonidean quality: a deep emotional effect achieved without recourse to pretentious language,—*τὸ οἰκτιῖσθαι μὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀλλὰ (συμ)παθητικῶς*.<sup>3</sup> For its structure it ought to be compared with that other epigram on the seer Megistias:

*Μνημα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, δν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
μάντιος, δς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς  
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.*

The motive which inspired the sacrifice is at the end thrown into heroic relief and gives the epigram its force. The situation is stated simply in the first three lines, and in the fourth with equal simplicity and restraint of phrase the nobility of the motive is so revealed to have its full effect. In the elegy for the men who fell at Marathon the technique is the same, but the fourth verse secures for the whole epigram an extraordinary dignity and moving quality. This is the *λεπτότης περὶ τὸ συμπαθές*, which determined the decision of the judges. An elegy like that on the Athenians who fell at the Eurymedon or like that on the Corinthians buried at Salamis, does not exhibit this character, which, on the other hand, *mutatis mutandis*, appears again in the famous epigram on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae. We might see in the latter, if not the hand of Simonides, at least the Simonidean technique. He created the type, for the archaic epigrams were not pointed. I, for my part, am quite satisfied with the explanation of Boas, that Simonides, who wrote the epitaph of Megistias on his own account, was the same man who composed the epitaph of the heroic Spartans at the request of the Amphictyons.

His influence, moreover, undoubtedly contributed to that feeling of warm national patriotism which so many epigrams display in the first half of the fifth century. Thus the concern for the dear *ἐλευθερία* of the Greeks and the consciousness of pan-Hellenic unity, which recur so often in the *Simonidea*, were already present in the elegy on the

<sup>1</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Das Skolion des Simonides an Skopas*, published in the *Nachrichten d. K. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1898, pp. 204–236, and reprinted in *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 159–191.

<sup>2</sup> As Wilamowitz punctuates it: *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ δὲ σηκός*.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Imit.*, II, 2, 6.

men who fell at Marathon. It was the spirit of a great age, but an eminent literary figure like Simonides not only reflected but played a part in the formation of this spirit.

The cenotaph, then, in its original condition was adorned with the epigram of Simonides, which in a fragmentary form we now possess. The epigram was complete in itself, and of such a character that any addition must have been felt as an anticlimax. Another epigram on the same subject was later placed upon the stone beneath that of Simonides, but the two new lines were not engraved as a continuation of the first two, but were carefully separated from them by a portion of rough-picked surface, which to the eye at once marked them as a unity apart. The chief problem is now the origin of the second band: why and when in the brief period between the erection of the monument shortly after the battle of Marathon and its destruction in 480 was another epigram placed on the stone beside that of Simonides.

For an explanation we may reexamine the one ancient reference to the monument. Another fact emerges from the anecdote in the Life of Aeschylus, namely that the dramatist was the only or the chief rival of Simonides. He was a serious rival; otherwise the story would not have attributed so much disappointment to Aeschylus on being relegated to second place. The judges apparently found themselves exposed to much hostile criticism because they had awarded the honor to a foreigner. After all they might have selected the epigram of Aeschylus; it, too, was rather a fine thing, and in the opinion of all it had an additional glamor, because the author himself was not only a patriotic Athenian, but actually one of the heroes of Marathon, and the brother of one of the fallen.

Probably on reflection the judges decided that the epigram of Aeschylus also deserved to be engraved on the monument, and a few days later they sent another stonecutter to make the second band. That is the most likely explanation of the existence of the second band, and it also explains why in the memory of Athenians the two names of Simonides and Aeschylus were coupled with the monument. It must be recalled that the latter won his first dramatic victory in 484; he was thirty-five years old at the time of the battle of Marathon, but not yet the famous man of ten years later. By itself his reputation as a poet, such as it was in 490, would scarcely have rendered memorable his participation with an epigram considered inferior to that of Simonides; but that participation would have been remembered if also the elegy of Aeschylus had received a place on the cenotaph. It seems furthermore incredible that any double distichon other than his would later have had this honor.

The evidence of the language on the stone points persuasively in the same direction. In sharp contrast to the simplicity of Simonidean style, the second elegy offers the elevated phraseology that we have learned to associate with the great tragic poet and that might be less sympathetically criticized for an inclination toward bombast. Expressions like *αἰχμὲν στήσασμ πρόσθε πυλῶν*, or *ἀνχίλομ πρῆσαι*, belong to the sort of language that he employed for tragedy. Impressive, also, but alien to the restraint of epigrammatic style, the *ἐπαῖς λεγόμενον* which appears at the beginning, has a tone at once suggestive of the luxuriant Aeschylean vocabulary.

In view of all this there exists, if not absolute certainty, at least the greatest likelihood that we have the epigram of Aeschylus below that of Simonides. The likelihood is so great that it amounts in our opinion to a demonstration. In that case it is the only known epigram of the poet, for Wilamowitz<sup>1</sup> is probably right in declaring the famous epitaph to be in the spirit but not by the hand of the poet, and the other which has survived under his name in the Palatine Anthology, can hardly be genuine.<sup>2</sup> The fragment, No. 4 Diehl, may not be from an epigram of Aeschylus at all.

It is striking that the author of the *Life* has a clearly formulated impression of a deficiency in the great man. In fact, in the words quoted above, he tells us that the poet was surpassed in the elegy upon the men who fell at Marathon because he lacked that peculiar quality, the delicate touch which, in a couple of lines with a few words moulded into an effective phrase, reaches the heart. The genius of Aeschylus was of another type, he added. We may perceive in the writer's words the late reverberation of an old echo. The criticism, it will be noticed, applies perfectly to the second epigram of the cenotaph; despite the exalted language of the verses, it is somewhat heavy, it has not the power of the first elegy. The effort of Aeschylus affected the ancients as the second epigram on the base would affect anyone, reading it after the first. Although it was known, moreover, that Aeschylus had written elegies, the world did not think of him as an epigrammatic poet. It would be strange to compare him with Simonides, except that for ten years men had beheld the epigrams of the two poets side by side on the monument of the fallen, and had had the chance to become impressed with the difference between them.

Quite apart from its sentimental and aesthetic interest, the monument has importance because of its contribution to our knowledge of Simonides, a figure of whom the former significance, if not the later influence, can be discerned everywhere, and who is quite justly characterized by J. Geffcken as the child and creator of his age.<sup>3</sup> Hitherto we have had but a single unquestionably authentic epigram, and even this did not represent one of his great commissions or explain the growth of a legend around his name. It seemed hitherto that the best epigrams of the time were not those of Simonides; so that, as Wilamowitz did, one might say that the reputation came to him beyond his merit, and that his true significance lay in other fields. Now since we have the elegy, worthy of the men it honored and worthy of the poet's fame, we can examine the tradition with better understanding. While we recognize that his importance was far from lying solely in his rôle as an epigrammatic poet, we know that this nevertheless constituted a prominent part of his renown, and that the reputation of Simonides, which claimed for him an overshadowing position in the history of the epigram, was not the result of an accident. Indeed, it was something to have been selected publicly at Athens for the

<sup>1</sup> *Aeschyli Tragoediae*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 216. H. T. Wade-Gery, however, in *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 75, would still retain it for Aeschylus.

<sup>3</sup> *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, I, 126.



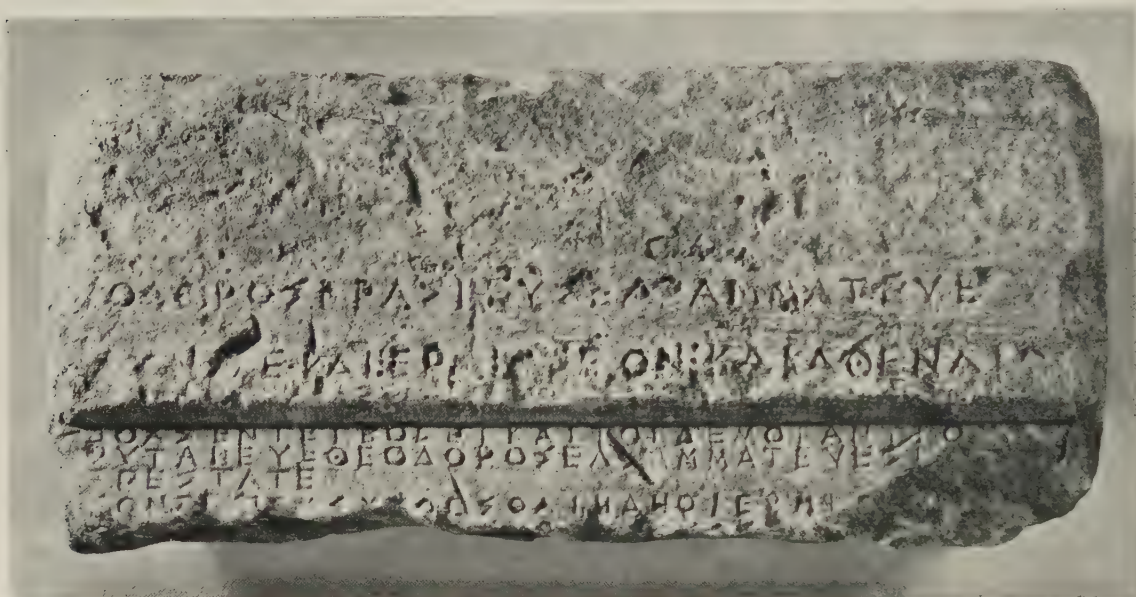
greatest literary commission that could be given to any man, that of an elegy suitable to a monument for the men who fell at Marathon.

**12.** The top of a stele of Pentelic marble. The fragment was found in the wall of a modern house, 631/27 in Section H, on November 27, 1932.

Maximum height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.465 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, in lines 1 and 2, 0.013 m.; in lines 3 ff., 0.008 m.

Inv. No. 3558 I 317.



No. 12

[Θε]όδορος Πρασιεὺς ἐγραμμάτενε.

NON CTOIX

[Χσ]υνθήκαι : Ἐρμιονέον : καὶ Ἀθηναίον[ν].

[ἔ]δοχσεν τῷ βολεὶ καὶ τῷ δέμῳ, Ἀντιοχ[ῆς ἔ]

CTOIX

[π]ρυτάνενε, Θεόδορος ἐγραμμάτενε, Σι[. . . .]

5

[.] ἐπεσιτάτε.

[Α]ξὸν ε[ῖ]π[ε]· χσυνθέσθαι ἡὰ ἦοι Ἐρμιονεῖς . . .

[. . . . .]Ο[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

The stone contains the preamble and the opening words of an inscription recording an otherwise unknown treaty between Athens and Hermione from the middle of the fifth century B.C. The word Ἐρμιονεῖς occurs here twice, and both times without the rough breathing, about the use of which in general there existed considerable uncertainty.

However, the rough breathing before the name Hermione is well attested on epigraphical grounds. It appears, for example, on a dedication at Delphi, set up by the people of Hermione about the middle of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

In lines 4 and 5 the name of the *ἐπιστάτης* begins with *Σι*- and originally contained eight letters.

In line 6 the name of the man who proposed the decree, contained four letters and terminated in *-ων*. The slight traces of the second letter might have belonged either to an *Ε* or less likely to a *Ξ*, but the latter reading is excluded because there are no four-letter names ending in *-σων*. On the basis of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 16 it may with the greatest probability be restored as Leon, the name of the orator who proposed the commercial treaty with the Phaselites.

The character of the lettering, particularly the presence of the three-bar sigma, the straight, well cut nu, the sloping lambda, and the employment of smaller letters in the body of the document than in the superscription, indicate that the stele was inscribed in the decade 456-46 B.C. Historical considerations enable us to date it more accurately.

The history of Hermione is closely associated with that of the other cities in the Argolid and with the Lacedaemonian alliance, so that the problem as to the time when Athens would have made a treaty with Hermione, must be approached from the standpoint of the political situation in the Argolid.

The rivalry of Argos and Sparta extended back to the eighth century. Under Pheidon Argos controlled not only the Argolid but all the eastern Peloponnese, but from then on her power gradually declined. By the middle of the sixth century she had lost Cynuria; at the very beginning of the fifth, the Spartans inflicted a severe defeat which obliged the Argives to extend the franchise to the perioeci. Afterwards her ambition rather restricted itself to the hegemony of the Argolid. A continual struggle existed on the part of the other towns to throw off or ward off the Argive yoke, and Sparta became the natural ally of all the other cities of the Argolid. Of the two Dryopian towns, Asine and Hermione, the former had been destroyed by the Argives in the eighth century, after it had assisted the Lacedaemonians in a war against Argos, but the latter, Hermione, partly due to its more protected geographical position, managed to maintain itself. A powerful coalition existed in the Peloponnese against Sparta around 470 B.C., when the latter won two great victories, which Herodotus (IX, 35) ranked with Plataea and Tanagra. The first was won at Tegea against the Tegeates and the Argives, the second at Dipaea against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans. About the same time, 468/7 according to Diodorus (XI, 65), Argos was fighting to strengthen her position near home, and destroyed her neighbor, Mycenae, when Sparta was unable to give assistance. In this same general period, also, and probably somewhat earlier than the fall of Mycenae, although the date is not known, occurred the destruction of Tiryns by the Argives. The refugees from Tiryns were received by the people of Hermione, and

<sup>1</sup> H. Pomtow, *Berliner Phil. Wochenschr.*, XXXII, 1912, 573-6.

were allowed to establish a new town, Halieis, in the territory which belonged to Hermione. The latter shared in the resentment against the Argive pretensions, felt by the other towns of the Argolid, and together with Epidaurus, Troezen, and the newly founded Halieis, it remained a faithful ally to Sparta, and regularly pursued a policy opposed to that of Argos.<sup>1</sup>

At Athens in 461 the pro-Laconian party fell from power and Cimon went into exile. The democratic anti-Laconian party straightway reversed the foreign policy of the Athenian government. The friendly relations between Athens and Sparta ceased, and an alliance was concluded between Athens and Argos. In consequence of this change the first Peloponnesian War broke out in the following year, although Sparta, because of the trouble in Messenia, did not take an active part until 457. Almost the first move of the Athenians was an attempt on the Argolid 459/8. They landed near Halieis but were defeated by the arrival of troops from Corinth and Epidaurus.<sup>2</sup> Later in the war they made a more successful attack on Troezen, and the Argolid became the scene of considerable fighting.

In 451 Cimon returned from exile and at once began to exert a controlling influence upon the foreign policy of Athens. Within six months he procured the Five Years Truce with Sparta and the renunciation of the alliance with Argos.<sup>3</sup>

It is evident that Athens must have concluded the treaty with Hermione at this time or shortly afterwards. The period from 461 to 451 is definitely excluded, because during the first Peloponnesian War, Athens would not have made treaties with the enemies of Argos and the friends of Sparta. After the death of Cimon, which occurred in 450, the newly established relations between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians were somewhat strained, perceptibly so at the time of the Sacred War in 448, and by 446 open hostilities existed between them again.

It is clear, then, that the treaty with Hermione was struck between 451 and 449 as a result of the reconciliation effected by Cimon. *Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν*, says Plutarch (Cimon XVIII, 1), *ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις*. Cimon induced in more than one Greek state a desire to coöperate with Athens. In comparing him with Lucullus Plutarch remarked (II, 3): *Λούκουλλος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη, Κίμων δ' ἐπὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐθανυμάσθη· παρ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲ μετέσπειραν*.<sup>4</sup>

The orator who proposed the treaty with Hermione was probably that Leon who proposed the treaty with the Phaselites, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 16. One believed at first that the latter belonged in the fourth century because it was inscribed in the Ionic alphabet;

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VIII, 373; Ephoros, frag. 56 (Jacoby).

<sup>2</sup> G. Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen* I (Leipzig, 1878), 67–76.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides I, 105, 1. Diodorus XI, 78, 2. A similar move occurred in 430, when the Athenians descended upon Hermione and devastated the surrounding territory (Thuc. II, 56, 5), but whereas the latter was a raid, the attempt upon Halieis was probably a more serious affair.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Cambridge Ancient History*, V, p. 86, note 2.



but after Wilhelm<sup>1</sup> pointed out that the Ionic alphabet was employed because the Phaselites paid for the inscription and that its epigraphical character belonged to the middle of the fifth century, E. Meyer<sup>2</sup> assigned the treaty to the period after the battle of the Eurymedon. To be sure the battle of the Eurymedon constitutes a *terminus post quem* but there is no cogent historical argument for placing it in 465 rather than fifteen years later. Enough of the text is preserved to supply the sense for the whole document. It was not a treaty of alliance such as was made after the battle of the Eurymedon. It was not a *συμμαχία*; there is no mention of contributions as in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 22; it was a commercial treaty that might have been made at any time.<sup>3</sup>

P. Haggard<sup>4</sup> observed that the character of the introductory formulae suggested a date later than 462/1. M. N. Tod<sup>5</sup> has returned to the period around 450 as a likely date for it. The nu in the word *Ἀνακτις* in line 2 is of the later type, quite straight, but the slanting nu itself can be paralleled in the tribute list for the year 450/49 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 195). The phi is like some in the same tribute list or like that in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27, of which F. Hiller von Gaertringen remarks in the Corpus: *Litteratura non vetat ne rem ad Atheniensium expeditionem Delphicam anni 448 referamus*. Now that we can with great probability also identify León as a prominent member of Cimon's party, active about 450 B.C., it must be conceded that the treaty with Phaselis belongs not far from the same year. It becomes altogether likely that the treaty is another example of the changes then effected in Athens' foreign policy by the party of Cimon. Phaselis was treated more favorably when Cimon returned to power, for as we may see from the tribute list *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 195, its assessment was reduced by one-half in the year 450/49.

**13.** Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble found in the wall of a modern house, 632/2 in Section Z, on October 30, 1932. The left margin is preserved, but the stone has been broken away above, below, and on the right.

Maximum height, 0.39 m.; maximum width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. 3469 I 249.

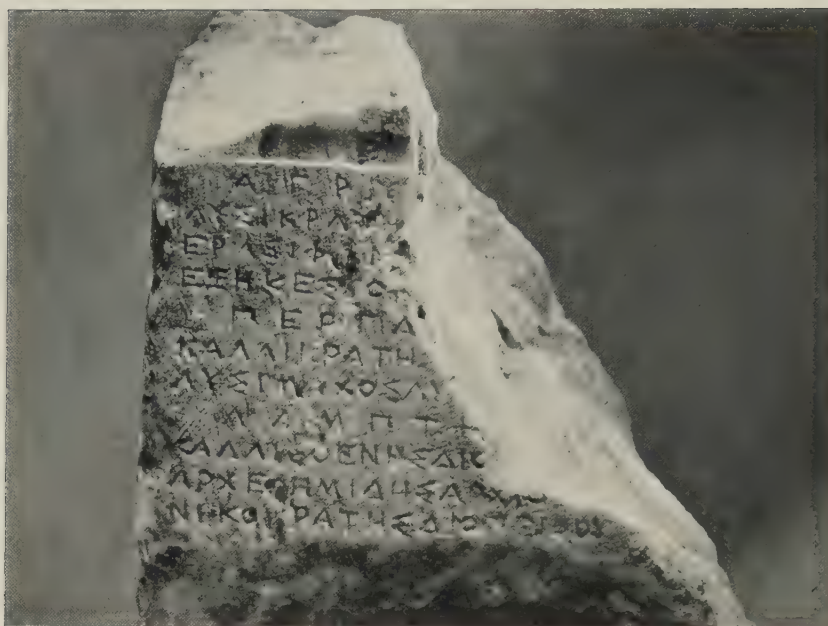
<sup>1</sup> *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1898, 204–5.

<sup>2</sup> *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, pp. 5–6.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the Chians are mentioned does not alter the circumstances. We are unacquainted with the relations between Athens and Chios. Perhaps the equality of treatment for Phaselites and Chians had been assumed from the beginning and was in 450 definitely formulated in an agreement, because of some violation of the arrangement during the democratic régime at Athens. The democrats were not so lenient with the allies as Cimon had been.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LVII, 1926, pp. XXXI–XXXII.

<sup>5</sup> *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1933), pp. 58–59.



No. 13

## NON CTOIX

vacat

[Ἀντιγονίδος]

Ἀγρυ[λεῖς]

Ἀνσικράτης [- - - -]

5 Ἐρασιφῶν [- - - -]

Ἐξήκεστος [- - - -]

Περγα[σεῖς]

Καλλικράτης [- - - -]

Ἀνσίμαχος Ἀνσ[- - - -]

10 Ἀμπτρο[εῖς]

Καλλισθένης Διο[- - - -]

Ἀρχεδιμίδης Ἀρχίου

Νικοκράτης Διοπεΐθου[ς]

**14.** On March 21, 1933, another fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble was found in a late Roman fill in Section II at 3/1. It contained part of the same list of names, was apparently engraved by the same stonecutter, and obviously came from another copy of the same document. In the second copy the name *Καλλισθένης* is spelt with one *Λ* and the margin on the left is somewhat wider, otherwise the two stones offer the

same arrangement. Also the second stone has preserved the left edge, and is broken away above, below and on the right.

Maximum height, 0.19 m.; maximum width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 5070 I 597<sup>B</sup>.



No. 14

# NON CTOIX

	[ vacat ]
	[ Ἀντιγονίδος ]
	[ Ἀγορεύεις ]
	[ Λυσικράτης ] - - - - -
5	[ Ἐρασιφῶν ] - - - - -
	[ Ἐξήκεστος ] - - - - -
	[ Περγασεῖς ]
	Κα[λλικράτης] - - - - -
	Λυσ[ίμαχος] Λυσ[ίμαχος] - - - - -
10	Λ[αμπρεῖς]
	Καλίσ[θενος] Λιό - - - - -
	Ἀρχεδη[μίδης] Ἀρχίου]
	[ Ν ]ικοκρά[της] Λιοπείθους]
	[ Ἐρα ]τοκρο[άτης] - - - - -
15	[ - - - - ]ελ[ - - - - ]

The fragments, Nos. **13** and **14**, contain a list of names, separated as to the demes of their bearers. The second line had been intentionally excised, and as on many another stone, had once held the name of the tribe Antigonis, to which the three demes recorded all belonged. Therefore, the complete list did not have names from one tribe alone, but from all the tribes, and was so divided. Antigonis, moreover, was created in 307/6; Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished and such excisions made in 200, when the resentment against Philip V of Macedon was transferred to everything reminiscent of the dynasty. Thus we have a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* within which the inscription may be dated with certainty. The general character rather points to the first half of this period.

The members of each tribe are grouped according to their demes. This arrangement occurs on a stone from the archonship of Nicias of Otryne<sup>1</sup> (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665), the earliest

<sup>1</sup> The archon probably belongs in 268/7 (thus Dinsmoor and Ferguson). Because of the secretary cycle he must be dated either then or twelve years earlier in 280/79 (thus Kirchner). For the most recent examination of the matter see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, pp. 81-85, where the older literature is cited and other views are discussed; J. Kirchner, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, 453.



ephebic catalogue of the third century, but not in the ephebic inscriptions a few years later; it occurs also in a list of *δαιτηταί* for the year 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926), and it occurs on the lists of *βουλευται*.

However, in the third century there were approximately 30 ephebes each year. The number had dropped from over 400 as in 305/4<sup>1</sup> to this low figure as in the archonship of Nicias of Otryne, and other inscriptions<sup>2</sup> from the third century indicate that the number remained about 25 or 30. This must, of course, have happened because the ephebic training had ceased to be compulsory, and the enrollment had probably dropped, not by degrees, but at once, to that low level. Furthermore, if one examines the ephebic inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 478 from 305/4 B.C., it is apparent that the name of the *σωφροιστής* stood immediately below that of the tribe. Now it is likely that the office of *σωφροιστής* was abolished when the enrollment declined and it became no longer desirable to maintain a large staff. In the absence of documents it is dangerous to make assumptions, but at least the official no longer appears in the inscriptions of the third century. The absence of his name on our stone would indicate that it was not a fragment of an ephebic catalogue from the brief period between the creation of the tribe Antigonis and the decline of the ephebic enrollment.

We have only three catalogues of *δαιτηταί*, all from the last third of the fourth century, and only one of these is complete enough to serve as a good model. But it happens that the latter (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926) has 103 names with an average of about two for each deme. The number of *δαιτηταί*, moreover, should not have vacillated much from year to year. They were all citizens fifty-nine years old within a certain property class unaffected by the reforms of 322, and the proportion to the rest of the population would have remained relatively constant. On the stones which we are publishing there are at least ten names for the tribe Antigonis, and if we assume this as customary for the other tribes, we have a hundred and twenty or more as a total. The number is not high enough to exclude the possibility of a list of *δαιτηταί*, but it is high enough to render it unlikely.

On the other hand the assumption that we have a list of *βουλευται* meets with no difficulty and actually finds confirmation in the catalogue *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, from which the representation of the deme Pergase is known to be two.

**15.** A fragment from a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section E, March 17, 1932.

Maximum height, 0.08 m.; maximum width, 0.10 m.; maximum thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. 1859 I 202.

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 478. Cf. J. Beloch, *Klio*, V, 1905, 352.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 681, 766, and 787.



No. 15

NON CTOIX

- [-----]
- [ - - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς - - ] εἶδος ἀποφα[ίνουσιν εἰς]
- [τὴν βουλὴν τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Δημαγέτην [demotic καὶ]
- [τὸν γραμματέα name demotic τεθυκέναι] ἐν τῇ πρυτ[ανείᾳ τὰς θε-
- 5 [σίας ἀπάσας ὑπὲρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως . . . .]
- [ . . . . καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης . . . . καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι]
- [δὲ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων]ν, ὅπως [ἂν τούτων συντε-
- [λουμένων εὐσεβῶς ἔχῃ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ π[ρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς]
- [ vacat ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βου]λῇ [ vacat ]
- 10 [-----]

The inscription is a fragment of a decree honoring the magistrates of a prytany from the tribe Aegeis or Erechtheis. Lines 5 and 6, where the names of the Macedonian royal family stood, were excised in 200 B.C. as in numerous other inscriptions. The style of lettering occurs not only somewhat earlier but also in the period around 240, and it is impossible to ascertain whether the names of Antigonos and Phila or of Demetrius and Phthia had once been inscribed there.

The restorations, here proposed, are made *exempli gratia*. Although the inscription is not written stoichedon, in different lines the same number of letters occurs in the same space, so that it is quite possible to estimate the number of letters that have been lost from each line. With the formula secured in the first two lines from the word ἀποφα[ίρουσιν] to the name Demagenes, the approximate length of a single line may be established as fifty-five or fifty-two letters, according to a preference for the phrase εἰς τὴν βουλὴν as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678, or for the phrase τῇ βουλῇ as in the inscriptions of the end of the third and the beginning of the second century.

One place before the letters ]εῖδος enough is left to exclude the reading Ν because the bottom of the second upright would have shown. Hence the restoration [Οἶν]εῖδος becomes impossible. There is something that might well have been the bottom of the upright stroke of a Γ. That would determine the reading as [Αἶν]εῖδος, but after careful examination the point really seems too dubious to serve as the foundation for any important argument. That which seemed a stroke, could have been an accident. The bottom of a Θ, moreover, might have been slightly higher and might not show on the fragment.

The only other Demagenes, hitherto known, was a priest of Asclepius, and the rarity of the name would indicate that both officials were members of the same family. The priest held office in the archonship of Nicias.<sup>1</sup> Now such an established synchronism between archon and priest would have its importance for the chronology of the third century if one could use it to reconstruct the interrelationship of the tribal cycles; but the synchronism between Demagenes and Nicias has not furnished assistance, partly because the demotic of the priest has not been preserved, partly because one cannot even be sure that the Nicias was the archon of the year 296/5. The elder Nicias is the general assumption, yet the archon might equally well have been the much disputed Nicias of Otryne, for whom W. B. Dinsmoor and W. S. Ferguson favor the year 268/7, while J. Kirchner still prefers the earlier dating in 280/79 that Beloch maintained.<sup>2</sup> Now, however, the synchronism gains in importance. If the priest came from the same family as the Demagenes of the fragment from the Agora (which is likely), he would belong either to Erechtheis (III) or to Aegeis (IV).

We cannot, however, on the basis of our present knowledge determine between the two possible restorations by working back from the list of the priests. At the beginning of the century the list is hardly more than a gap. Even Ferguson's arrangement of cycles, which indeed would seem to be the correct one, admits the possibility of selection

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>1</sup>, 1350.

<sup>2</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* (1931), pp. 81–85, where also the earlier literature is reviewed; W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles* (1932), p. 23; J. Kirchner, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, 453. When Nicias of Otryne is mentioned, his demotic is added to avoid confusion with the elder Nicias. In *I.G.*, II<sup>1</sup>, 1350, however, where for the sake of argument let us assume that the ephebes in the year of one of the immediate predecessors of Nicias II were being honored, no confusion was possible; furthermore, the name of the priest of Asclepius stood below, while the wreath which contained the archon's name, did not afford much space.



by sortition within the cycle where he locates Demagenes. If selection took place by rotation at that period, according to his arrangement the relation between the priestly and the secretary cycles would call for a priest from the tribe Erechtheis in the archonship of Nicias I; and in the document here published a probability would exist for the restoration [*Ἐρεχθ*]εἶδος. On the other hand, that which seems the bottom of a vertical hasta in front of the first recognizable letter on the stone from the Agora, creates a slight preference here for the restoration [*Ἀγ*]εἶδος, and the uncertainty remains.

**16.** A fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble found in Section Δ in a late fill at 22/1Δ on February 29, 1932. The stone is broken away on all sides so that only the inscribed face presents a smooth surface.

Maximum height, 0.15 m.; maximum width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 1451 I 175.



No. 16

NON CTOIX

[Ἐπὶ Ἀριστιόλα ἄρχοντος . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ]  
 [ . . . . . καὶ συμπρόεδροι.]  
 [ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ]

[- - - - - εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ] Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλο[- - - - -]  
 [χειροτονηθεὶς κοσμητῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφεήβους εἰς τὸν] ἐπὶ Ποσειδωνίου ἄρχον[τος ἐνιαυτὸν - -]  
 [- - - - - προσέ]στη δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐταξί[ας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς]  
 10 [μαθήμασιν γενομένης ἐπιστάσεως ἐπεμελήθη· ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας πάσας με[τ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ]  
 [τοῦ δήμου τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις οἷς καθῆκον ἦ]ν· διετήρησεν δὲ αὐτῶν κα[ὶ τὴν πρὸς]  
 [ἀλλήλους φιλίαν καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμονοοῦντας καὶ ὑγαίνοντας, θύ]ντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑβδομήκ[οντα - - -]  
 [- - - - - ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ] ἔφηβοι ἐστεφάνωσαν εἰκόν[ι χαλκῇ,  
 [ἀποδεικνύμενοι τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς γεγυῖαν εὐνοίαν καὶ δικ]αιοσύνην· ὅπως ἂν ο[ὗ]ν ἐφ[άμιλλον ἦι]  
 15 [πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις δικαίω]ς ἄρχειν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμ[ους - - -]  
 [- - - - - εἰδόσιν διτι τιμηθῇσονται ὑπὸ] τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, [ἀγαθῇ]  
 [τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν] ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρημ[ατίσαι]  
 [περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δ]ῆμον ὅτι δ[οκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐ]παινέσαι  
 [τὸν κοσμητὴν τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδωνίου ἄρχοντος - - - - -] P[- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]

The inscription is of the characteristic type in honor of a *κοσμητῆς*. By analogy we may assign it to the year after the archonship of Poseidonius, which is mentioned in line 7, and which can be dated in 162/1 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The broken bar A which appears here was not yet in general use but occurred sporadically.<sup>2</sup>

Although in this period there are no other similar inscriptions for comparative purposes, the general sense of what remains on our stone can be ascertained from corresponding passages in documents of 40 or 50 years later. The latter are much more elaborate and prolix, and in order to restore the text, it is a question of pruning the language there. Hence the restorations, here proposed, are merely *exempli gratia*, except in lines 15–17 from the words *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* through the word *δοκεῖ*. So much is certain because of the familiar formula, and it gives us a starting point for the rest of the document, inasmuch as we learn that a single line held about seventy-five letters.

Above the name Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλο[- - - -] is a vacant space about two lines high. Therefore this name probably stood over at the right in the line below the words *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ*. This phrase stood apart in the middle of another line underneath the rest of the preamble, which itself also ended in the middle of a line, so that on the right hand side of the inscription we have the vacant space as indicated in the scheme here submitted.<sup>3</sup>

The line on which the name Apollonius stood, would have begun on the left with the name of the man who moved the decree. Therefore we can identify Apollonius as the man who was being honored and as not being the man who moved the decree. It

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Ferguson locates it thus and new evidence from the Agora, as yet unpublished, confirms the date.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 949 and 950, both in the archonship of Pelops four years earlier.

<sup>3</sup> An arrangement as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 967 for example.

is, moreover, clear from a glance at the broken stone that the name Apollonius did not stand at the left edge of the inscription. An additional proof that Apollonius was the man honored, could, if it were needed, be gathered from the phrase directly below the name. We know that there were about seventy-five letters to the line, and there would not be sufficient space for a restoration including another name, patronymic and demotic, after the name Apollonius and before the phrase below it.

The phrase *ἐστεφάνωσαν εἰκόν[ι χαλκῆ]*, line 12, is worthy of note. Without exception the formula reads *ἐστεφάνωσαν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῆι*. Possibly the missing words have been omitted through error, but it is not necessary to suppose so.

Before the word *διετήρησεν* in line 10 can be distinguished part of a letter. It is a vertical stroke that might belong to **H**, **I**, **M** or **N**.

The one visible letter in line 18, a **P** or a **B**, probably belonged to the demotic of Apollonius.

As the decree deals with the *κοσμητής* alone, the document is of the later official type of ephebic inscription. In the earlier type at the end of the decree there would be an account of the ephebes and of their behavior and a statement that in reward it had been decided to honor them, etc.; then by way of appendix would be added a few words such as, *ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν κοσμητὴν αὐτῶν* [name] *ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ στεφανῶσαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. This would be followed by a brief reference to the other officials, and then would follow the catalogue. The early arrangement still persisted in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900, an inscription of the year 185/4 or shortly afterward. In the later type of ephebic honorary inscription, the *κοσμητής* is no longer lumped together with the other officials at the end, but enjoys the distinction of a separate decree immediately after the first.<sup>1</sup> The catalogue then comes below the second decree. This arrangement appears for the first time about 172/1 B.C. in another inscription recently found in the Agora, but the decree in honor of the *κοσμητής* is quite illegible. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008 (118/7 B.C.), despite its verbosity, affords a better example how the inscription of which our piece is a fragment, originally appeared.

**17.** Seven contiguous fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble found in an ancient well in Section Δ on May 3, 1932. The plaque has been broken away at the bottom, and two fragments have been lost from the upper portion of the inscription.

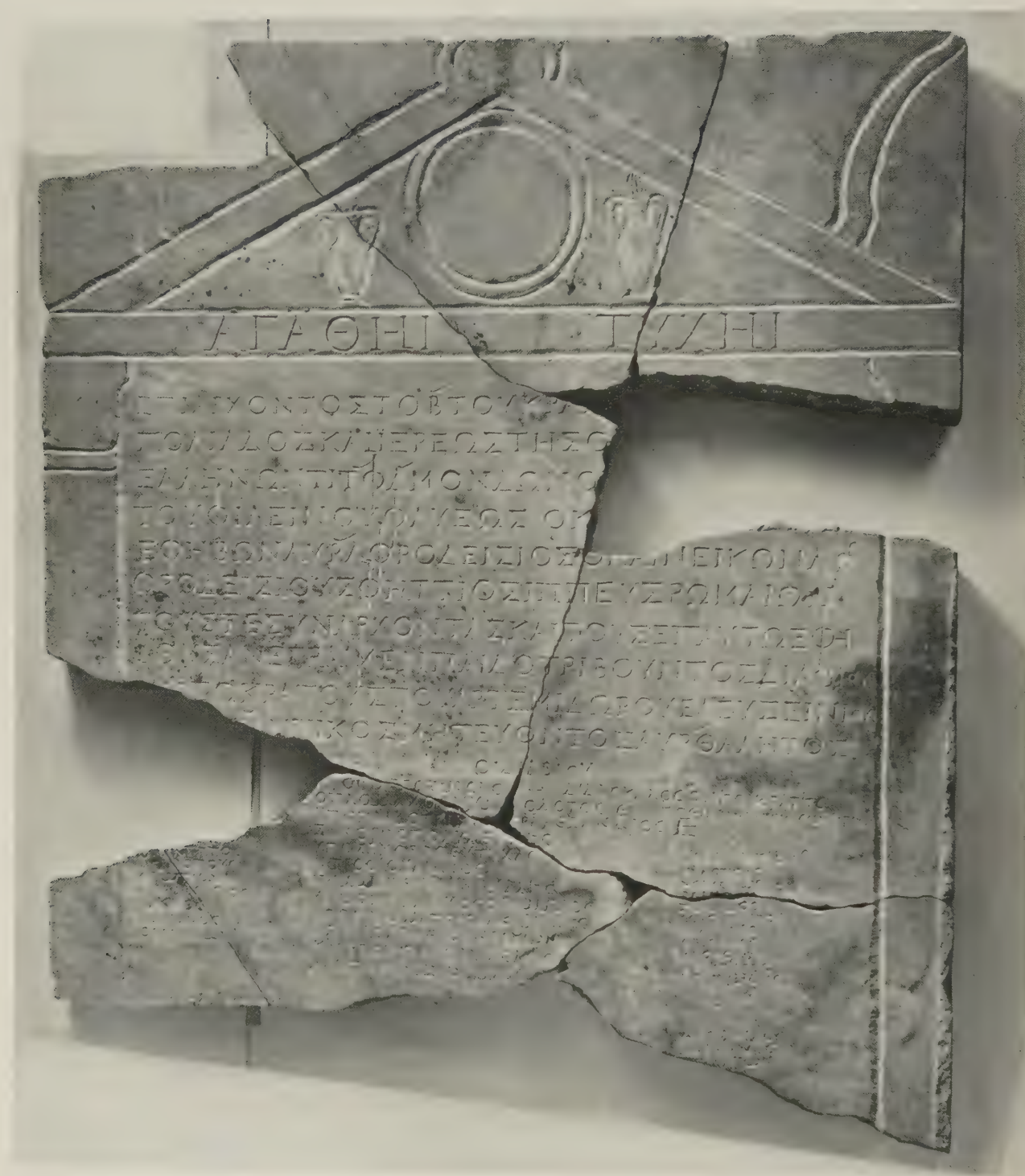
Maximum height, 0.74 m.; width, 0.605 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, in line 1, 0.025 m.; in lines 2–11, 0.015 m.; in lines 12 ff., 0.0075–0.01 m.

Inv. No. 2611 I 231.

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally more than two decrees appear on the stone. In the middle of the first century B.C., moreover, the order of the two decrees is sometimes reversed: first that of the *κοσμητής*, second that of the ephebes.





## Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

NON CTOIX

- Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τὸ β' τοῦ κρᾶ(τίστου) [ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς]  
 Πολιάδος καὶ ἱερέως τῆς Ὀ[μπνίας τῶν Παν]-  
 ελλήνων Τιτ(ου) Φλ(αουίου) Μόνδωνο[ς - - - -]  
 5 τοῦ Φιλείνου Φλυέως, ὁ κ[οσμητῆς] τῶν  
 ἐφήβων Ἀῦρ(ήλιος) Ἀφροδείσιος δὲ καὶ Νείκων Ἀ-  
 φροδείσιου Σφίγτιος, ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων,  
 τοὺς τε συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐφή-  
 βους ἀνέγραψεν, παιδοτριβοῦντος διὰ βίου  
 10 [Α]ῦρ(ηλίου) Σωκράτους τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου Ἐλευσινείου  
 [ἔτος] ε', ἀντικοσμητεύοντος Ἀῦρ(ηλίου) Θάλητος.

## Οἱ διὰ βίου

- |                  |    |  |                |
|------------------|----|--|----------------|
| [Ἰγμνασίαρχοι]   |    | προσιάτης Ζωσᾶς δ', διδάσκαλος Ὀνησικράτης       |                |
| [- - - - -]      |    | δπλομάχος Νυμφόδοτος ε', ἡγεμὼν ἱερεὺς Σωτήριχος |                |
| 15 [- - - - -]   | 30 | ἵποπαιδοτρίβης Ἀῦρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος Ε           |                |
| [- - - - -]      |    | ζάκορος Πολυδεύκης                               |                |
| [- - - - -]      |    | ὑποζάκορος Εὐτυχᾶς                               | 40 Ἀκαμαντίδος |
| [- - - - -]      |    | ἱατρὸς Ἰουλιανός                                 | Καλόπους       |
| Ἐπίκτιτος        |    | γραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης                            | Νεικέως        |
| 20 Ἀγαθόπους     | 35 | ἐποῦπλομάχος Ὀλύμπιος                            | Θεῖ[- - -]     |
| Ἐρωτίων          |    | ἵπογραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης                         | Ζώσιμος        |
| Ἀφροδείσιος      |    | ἐπὶ Διογενείου Νείκων                            | 45 Σωσίστρατος |
| Ἰακχος           |    | κεστροφύλας (sic) Φιλάδελφος                     | Φίλιππος       |
| Ἀδριανός         |    | λεντιάριος Ζώσιμος                               | Ἐπίγονος       |
| 25 Θερεπίων      |    |  | Θεολόγος       |
|                  |    |  | Ἐπίκτιτος      |
|                  |    |  | 50 Ἐπιτενξίδης |
| Συνστρεμματάρχαι |    |  |                |
| [- - - - -]      |    | Ἀδριανίδος                                       |                |
|                  |    | Μαρκιανός  |                |
|                  |    | [Ε]παφροίων                                      |                |
|                  |    | [- - - - -]                                      |                |

The inscription is of uncertain date, but may be assigned approximately to the latter part of the third century A.D. It is later than any datable document in the long series of ephebic inscriptions. The stone was set up by a κοσμητής in honor of his fellow officers and the ephebes in his charge. Most of the catalogue of ephebes is lost, but the list of officials is complete, containing the names of all except the παιδοτρίβης and the ἀντικοσμητής already mentioned in the preamble. It may be noted that the officials

recorded in the list proper all have life appointments, and that their names are grouped together under the heading οἱ διὰ βίου. This same arrangement occurs in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245, which has been dated by Graindor in 266/7 (or 262/3).<sup>1</sup> There the category of officials, grouped together under the heading οἱ διὰ βίου, includes the names of the παιδοτρίβης, γραμματεῖς, ὀπλομάχος, προστάτης, ἡγεμών, ὑποπαιδοτρίβης, ὑποζάκορος, διδάσκαλος, ἰατρός, ἐπογραμματοεὺς, κεστροφύλαξ, καψάριος, and ἐπὶ Διογενείου.<sup>2</sup> In both inscriptions all the staff except the κοσμητής and the ἀντικοσμητής have life appointments, whereas in the inscriptions of the first part of the century this is not the case. To be sure, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2237 has a list of the staff, but it is significant that they are not yet designated as οἱ διὰ βίου. Some of its men reappear in the same office in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2243. The most likely date for this last inscription is 251/2.<sup>3</sup> The section where the words οἱ διὰ βίου might have stood in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239 is missing. In 2243, however, we do find the words οἱ διὰ βίου above the group. There are two noncontiguous fragments of the list, which begins with the title ἡγεμών, then breaks off, recommences on the other fragment with the titles ὑποζάκορος, διδάσκαλος, ἐπογραμματοεὺς, κεστροφύλαξ, ἰατρός, and ἐπὶ Διογενείου, and then ends with λεντιάριος. The παιδοτρίβης had already been mentioned as a life appointee in the heading. Two of these, the ὑποζάκορος and the ἐπὶ Διογενείου, reappear as still holding office in the inscription mentioned above, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245, where the ὑποζάκορος has already served for more than seventeen years. On the other hand, in our inscription not a single office has the same incumbent as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2237, 2239, 2243, or 2245. Therefore it is not to be dated earlier than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245 (i.e. 266/7 or less likely 262/3 A.D.), because there is no place for it, and it must postdate no. 2245 by at least five years and probably more, because some of the staff have had five years in office.<sup>4</sup>

That raises the question how much later it could have been. In Athens, except for this one, there is no ephebic inscription known to be later than the year 267/8. The ἐφηβία as an institution did not exist much longer. It died out all over the Greek world. In Egypt, about which we are well informed from the papyri, the institution lasted through the first quarter of the fourth century, but then disappeared.<sup>5</sup> Yet the ephebic training had been the distinguishing mark of Greek superiority in Egypt, and there were strong nationalistic reasons for its preservation, whereas in Athens it must have disappeared sooner. The burden of its maintenance fell on that class precisely

<sup>1</sup> P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> As here, so in our inscription and in most others, the official named as ἐπὶ Διογενείου appears at the bottom of the list. As Graindor pointed out (*Musée Belge* XXVI, 1922, 228), he is certainly not a director, but rather a guard of some sort.

<sup>3</sup> P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, pp. 259–262.

<sup>4</sup> Likewise it must be later than the brief fragment, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2246, which Kumanudes tried to date in 267 A.D.; for even if we accept his suggestion and move 2245 up as early as 262/3, no. 2246 is only five years later, so that, belonging to the year of a different κοσμητής, it would come between them.

<sup>5</sup> U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 144–5. See also Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, III, p. 275. The use of the word ἐφηβος continues, but the ἐφηβία disappears.



which suffered the most severely from the chaos and anarchy of the third century. The third century presents the defeat of the city bourgeoisie, and the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian and Constantine left them generally in the condition to which they had been brought.<sup>1</sup> Oppressed and insecure, they were no longer able to support an institution like the *ἐφηβία*. Moreover the rise of Christianity contributed to the decline of the gymnasia throughout the empire. The contests of naked ephebes were incompatible with the new spirit, which exerted a strong influence even on those who were not adherents of Christianity. The disappearance of the old institution is symbolic like the suppression of the Olympic games in 394 and the closing of the school of philosophy in 592.

In the first line of the preamble the three letters, **KPA**, are clearly marked as an abbreviation by the stroke above the **A**. Such an abbreviation does occur as a patronymic in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245, line 293, where it is of uncertain meaning. Here, however, it cannot be the name of the archon because of the word *τοῦ* which precedes it. Moreover after it in the same line came at the very most only fourteen letters conveniently, and perhaps as few as ten, for the width of the letters varies to such an extent that it is difficult to gauge accurately the size of the lacuna. The next line begins with the word *Πολιάδος*, and it is tempting to believe that the archon was at the same time priest of Athena Polias. Other inscriptions contain similar combinations, e.g. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1817 *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἱερέως Μητροῦ Θεῶν καὶ Ἀγαπητοῦ Ἀρ(ηλίου) Διονυσίου τοῦ Καλλίππου Λαμπιτρέως*, or *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2239 *ἐπὶ ἱερέως Φλαβ< Ἀσκληπιάδου ἄρχοντος*. Therefore the words *ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς* probably stood at the end of the line. Since the word *ἱερέως* occurs in the following line in unabbreviated form, it is unlikely that it was abbreviated in line 2.

Our information about the priestess of Athena Polias concerns an earlier period. It, of course, does not preclude the existence of a priest of Athena Polias in the late third century of the Christian era. Moreover her title, as in *I.G.*, III, 63, an inscription of the Augustan Age, read *ἱέρεια Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος* without the article before the name of the goddess. The title of the priest would probably have resembled it, and, to be sure, if the article were present, the restoration might still be possible, but the letters would be exceedingly crowded at the end of the line.

Given the phrase *ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος*, the abbreviation **KPA** must be that of an adjective,—hence *κρα(τίστου)*, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1830 according to Graindor's convincing restoration. This word<sup>2</sup> is the equivalent not only of the Latin *egregius* but also of the Latin *clarissimus*,—that is to say, it was used as an honorary title for men both of the equestrian and of the senatorial class, and it could be given in general to anyone of high birth.

The archon's second priesthood was apparently that of a feminine deity whose name begins with an omicron, and who is described as being of national importance. Probably

<sup>1</sup> See M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History*, Chapter XII.

<sup>2</sup> See the new edition of Liddell and Scott *sub voce*.

8 to 11 letters have been lost at the end of the third line; therefore, beside the word  $\tau\omega\nu$ , 5 to 8 other letters are to be restored in the lacuna. Perhaps the name  $\text{'Ομπνία}$  stood there. The latter's priesthood is the almost certain restoration of Boeckh in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1352. *I.G.*, III, 245 mentions a priest of Olympia Nike, and *I.G.*, III, 289 one of Urania Nemesis. Oinaia, Homonia and Orthia are not very likely possibilities. Orthia was worshiped in Athens, but her cult was not sufficiently important there for the place occupied in the inscription. Ompnia is Demeter with the emphasis on her part as the grain goddess.<sup>1</sup> In view of the importance of the cult of Demeter in Attica and of its national character, Ompnia seems the most probable restoration, but the phrase  $\text{'Ομπνία τῶν Ἑλλήνων}$  or  $\text{'Ομπνία τῶν Πανελλήνων}$  has not elsewhere been found. Yet the latter restoration has a certain inherent probability because a close connection existed between the Panhellenes and the Eleusinian sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> The exact nature of the connection is not clear, but just as there existed the cult of the Panhellene Zeus in Athens, presumably a Demeter of the Panhellenes was also recognized.

Titus Flavius Mondo, [- - -, son of] Philinus, of the deme Phlya, has not hitherto been known. The name Mondo until now has not occurred in Athens. However, these very names, Titus Flavius Mondo and Titus Flavius Philinus,<sup>3</sup> keep recurring in a distinguished Boeotian family of the second century, well known from several inscriptions found at Thespieae and Thebes, a family of which one member held the most important Roman magistracies (*e.g.* proconsulate of Lycia-Pamphilia),<sup>4</sup> and to which Plutarch's friend Philinus undoubtedly belonged.<sup>5</sup> Quite clearly our Mondo came from an Athenian branch of the same family. There had been a tendency for all such to move to the more important urban centres.

It is, however, interesting that he was holding the archonship for the second time. Hitherto we have had no such case under the empire, although for the third century A.D. it is not a surprising discovery. The number of eligible candidates must have become by then exceedingly limited.

At the beginning of the eleventh line about five letters have disappeared. There remains a cross stroke like the top of an E or a Γ, less likely a T, with an abbreviation mark above it. As the date was being given, the year of service for the  $\piαιδοιγίβης$

<sup>1</sup> See Roscher III, 899.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092; *I.G.*, III, 85; *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1894, No. 29; *Ἱστορικά*, 1887, 54. Cf. also A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 169, note 2; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 273-274; M. N. Tod, *J. H. S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 2521:  $\text{Τίτος Φλάουιος Φιλείνος Μόνδωνος υἱός}$ . *I.G.*, VII, 1830:  $\text{Φιλείνος Μόνδωνος καὶ Ἀρχέλας υἱός}$ . *I.G.*, VII, 2520: Mondo, son of a Philinus and father of a Philinus. *I.G.*, VII, 1868: Flavia Democlea, mother of a Titus Flavius Philinus. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* III, no. 339:  $\text{Ψηφίσματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου οἱ ἐνωμισιαὶ Τ. Φλ. Μόνδωνα Φιλείνον ὅδν ἐφηβον}$ .

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 1866:  $\text{Τί(τον) Φλ(άουιον) Φιλείνον τὸν κρᾶτιστον, ταμειύσαντα Ἀσίας, τριβοῦνον, πραιτορα, πρεσβεύσαντα Κύπρον, ἀνθυπατεύσαντα Ἀνκίας Πανφυλίας, ἡ πατρίς τὸν ἐνεργέτην}$ .

<sup>5</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, VI, 2608.

would have been stipulated, for he was *παιδοτριβῆς διὰ βίου*.<sup>1</sup> Hence the first four letters were *ἔτος*, and the fifth was a numeral, so indicated by the abbreviation mark above it. The choice is between *Ε* and *Γ*. Between the end of the *Ε*'s and of the *Γ* in line 9 I think I detect a slight difference of form, which may be quite accidental but is enough to determine my preference for the reading *Ε*. An Aurelius Socrates, who might well be this official, appears as an ephebe in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2243 (probably 251/2 A.D.). An archon Aurelius Socrates, who held office in the joint rule of some emperors, has been tentatively located between 253 and 260 A.D. by P. Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire*, pp. 384–5), and is presumably another person.

Below the preamble comes the catalogue, most of which has been lost. To the left of the group *οἱ διὰ βίου* is another list of which seven names are preserved. These are the gymnasiarchs, who were generally twelve in number, ephebes, one for each month of the year to defray the expenses of the gymnasium. Among other duties they were responsible for supplying the oil. We may assume, then, that the heading *γυμνασάρχαι* and five other names originally stood above in the lacuna.

An unusual expression occurs in line 8, in the preamble. The *κοσμητής* is setting up the list of his ephebes,—*τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐφήβους* he calls them, using the preposition *ἐπί*. The ordinary phrase is either *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* or *ἐπ' αὐτόν*. The employment of the preposition *ἐπί* with the dative to express the sense "in the time of so and so," does not conform to Attic usage nor to that of the *κοινή*. We have here a contamination of the two expressions, *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ* and *ἐπ' αὐτόν*. In an inscription of the year 145/6 we read [*Ὁ κοσμητής Ἀθ[η]ναῖος τοὺς ἐπ' αὐ[τῷ] ἐφηβέουσας*].<sup>2</sup> This is the only other case where the preposition *ἐπί* occurs instead of the normal *ἐπὶ*, and in the *Corpus* the phrase has been restored as *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*.

<sup>1</sup> The year is not always given, but in the heading frequently so with the word *ἔτος* spelled out (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2242 for example). There seems to be no general rule about the other life appointees. Our inscription gives the year of office also for the *προσπάτης*, for the *ὀλομέχης*, and for the *ὑποπαιδοτριβῆς*, but *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2245, which in form resembles our inscription closely, does not give the year for the *παιδοτριβῆς*, while it does give it for the *προσπάτης* and for the *ὑποζάχορος*,—the *προσπάτης* *ἔτ(ος) α'* and the *ὑποζάχορος* *ἔτ(ος) η'*. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2235, where both the *παιδοτριβῆς* and the *προσπάτης* are *διὰ βίου*, gives the year only for the *προσπάτης*. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2242, where the *παιδοτριβῆς*, the *προσπάτης* and the *γραμματεὺς* are mentioned in the heading as life appointees, gives the year for all three. Others, however, do not give the year for either the *παιδοτριβῆς* or the *προσπάτης*, where both are expressly described as *διὰ βίου*. Notice, moreover, that in our inscription, under the list *οἱ διὰ βίου*, the word *ἔτος*, or its abbreviation, has been omitted regularly.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2052, line 5.



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JAMES H. OLIVER

## THE SCULPTURE

### PLATES XV AND XVI

The sculpture found in the Agora in the season of 1932 represents a wide variety of types and covers a long range of time, extending from the sixth century B.C. into the late Roman period. The more important works have been selected for presentation in this preliminary report. Although innumerable statues of gods, of heroes, and of mortal men were dedicated in the Athenian market-place and although very many were seen there by Pausanias at the time of his visit in the middle of the second century A.D., it was hardly to be expected that much could have survived the subsequent disasters which befell the city, and the frequent destructions and rebuildings on the site. But in the field of sculpture, as in many other branches, the results of the excavations have exceeded all expectations, and a large group of important and interesting works has already been brought to light. They are preserved and exhibited in the temporary Museum which has been established in an expropriated building of the Agora.

### ARCHAIC HERM

The earliest piece of sculpture of the current campaign is a life-sized marble head of a man, which has been badly damaged (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The most serious mutilation is on the left side of the mouth, on the beard, on the right side of the face, and on the back of the head which has been chopped away. But in spite of these injuries the essential character of the head has been preserved. The face is bearded with the hair of the beard arranged in conventionally parallel wavy lines. The ends of the moustache droop down at the corners of the mouth. The hair on top of the head is represented by waved lines, similar to those of the beard (Fig. 2). The long back hair is gathered in a braid which is coiled about the head, beneath which the locks are combed out on the forehead, but no evidence remains to indicate that they terminated in curls.<sup>2</sup> The eye is a somewhat bulging ball set in deeply-cut contours which form the lids. The ears, which are entirely visible, are carefully made with a narrow outer rim and with a wide opening.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 2170-S 211. Found in a house, 632/B 16, in Section Zeta. White marble, probably Parian. Height: 0.28 m.; width: 0.18 m.; thickness: 0.16 m.

<sup>2</sup> For the treatment of the hair in archaic art see W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik*, pp. 112 ff.





Fig. 1. Archaic Head of Hermes

The sides of the face are noticeably vertical in shape, without rounded contours, so that the head has a columnar appearance. At the bottom the piece ends in a shaft instead



Fig. 2. Hermes. Side View

of a neck. It is clear, therefore, that this is a head of Hermes which was set in the top of a column. Although many such herms were erected in Athens, at the corners of streets and in front of private houses, very few of the archaic period have been found. A small male head in the Acropolis Museum (Dickins, Cat. No. 642, p. 184) has been identified as the crowning head of a herm by Schrader,<sup>1</sup> who studies it in connection with another related head in the Acropolis Museum (Dickins, Cat. No. 621, pp. 153f.). The head from the Agora shows many resemblances to the two on the Acropolis; in the treatment of the hair of head and beard in wavy lines, in the shape of the eyes, in the appearance of the corner of the mouth. The finely carved ear with its comparatively broad shape especially resembles that of the Acropolis head No. 621. The injuries to the surface cannot obviate the impression that this was a good piece of work of the late archaic period. Like the related heads on the Acropolis it may be dated in the last decade of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

#### MARBLE HEAD

The development of the type of the archaic Hermes is seen in a marble head which is about half life-size (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> The general characteristics of the earlier work are here

<sup>1</sup> *Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, 1928, pp. 227ff., pl. 18. A similar type is illustrated by R. Lullies, *Die Typen der griechischen Herme*, pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lechat, *Sculpture Attique*, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. 2722-S 218. Found on May 9, 1932 in a mixed Byzantine and late Roman deposit in a well in Section Stigma, 60/l, at a depth of 7 m. White marble, probably Parian. Height: 0.145 m.; width: 0.092 m.; thickness: 0.105 m.; Tip of beard to crown of head: 0.153 m.

present, such as the full beard, the moustache with the drooping ends, the primitive method of rendering the eyes, the treatment of the hair in wavy lines and its arrangement

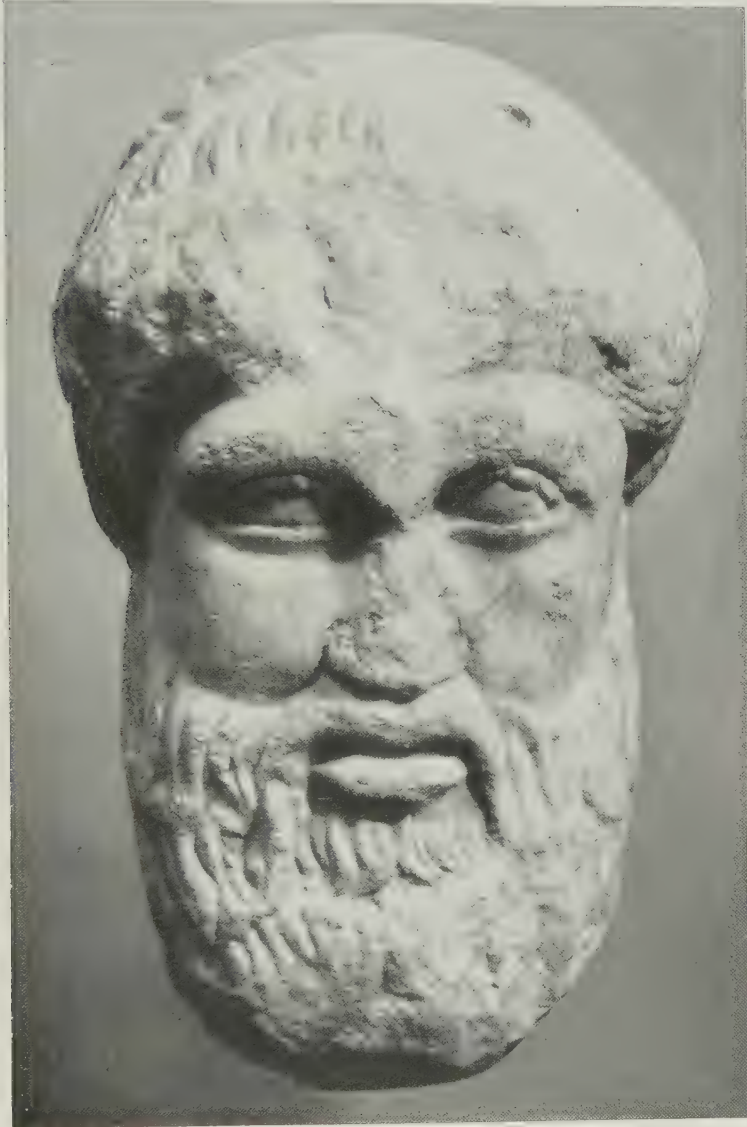


Fig. 3. Marble Head

in a braided coil about the head. But the technical execution is more advanced, since the eyes no longer prominently bulge, the lids are clearly articulated, and an attempt is made to render more naturalistically the hair of the beard. The eyes have reached the stage of development represented by those of Apollo from the west pediment of the Zeus





Fig. 4. Marble Head. Side View

Temple at Olympia.<sup>1</sup> The beard is fairly long and is rounded at the end as it is on the head of Herakles on a metope of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi.<sup>2</sup> And as on that head the cheeks above the sharply indicated line of the beard have a fat, puffy appearance.<sup>3</sup> The length of the beard accentuates the narrowness of the face with the result of giving a very individualistic appearance to the front of the head. Another distinctive characteristic is the arrangement of the front hair in an almost straight line across the forehead with but little space left between hair and eyebrows.

If this head be compared with the head of Aristogeiton in the Vatican<sup>4</sup> many resemblances will be readily observed, such as the straight line of the hair on the forehead, the treatment of eyes and mouth and the less conventional representation of the hair on head and beard. Obvious differences also exist, especially in the shape of the ear and in the braided coil of hair on the head from the Agora (Fig. 4). The statue of Aristogeiton was dedicated in 477 B.C., and the stylistic relationship of the new head marks it as an Attic work of the early part of the second quarter of the fifth century. There are no technical characteristics which necessarily imply that the head is a copy of a bronze work. It may have been a marble herm like the head first discussed. The circumstances of discovery furnish no evidence on which to base a decision as to whether this is an original Greek work of the period or a later copy of such a work.

#### THE BRONZE HEAD

Such evidence, however, is available in the case of a bronze head which was discovered in a well in the southeast corner of the area west of the Royal Stoa (Pl. XV and Figs. 5-9).<sup>5</sup> The location of the well is marked (C) on Fig. 1, p. 452 above. It was filled with ancient objects packed in mud and clay and intermingled with large and small stones. At a depth of three metres the bronze head was lying face downward in the mud. After a preliminary rinsing with water the head appeared as it is shown in Fig. 5. The surface is covered with a thick layer of corrosion which conceals all details of the workmanship, and in which some pebbles of considerable size are imbedded. Although it was at once obvious that a beautiful and important work had been secured its quality could not be evaluated from the deformed mass of metal in hand. As the first step in the cleaning process the head was allowed to soak in distilled water, whence it was taken only for occasional brushings. After five weeks of

<sup>1</sup> H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*, pl. 193, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, *Sculptures Grecques*, pl. xxxvii, 1 and 1a.

<sup>3</sup> This is also noticeable on a head from Olympia which is related to the Delphian head, see Poulsen, *Delphi*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 574.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. 1434 -B 30. Found on February 27, 1932 in a well in Section Alpha, 20/1ET, at a depth of 3 m. Bronze. Total height: 0.20 m.; chin to crown: 0.121 m.; chin to roots of hair above brow: 0.084 m.; bottom of back neck to crown: 0.134 m.; total width: 0.095 m.; from ear to ear: 0.071 m.

this treatment much superficial accretion had been removed, but some hard corrosion still remained which did not yield to the soluble action of the water. The head was, therefore, wrapped in zinc plate and placed in a dilute solution (about 2%) of sodium hydroxide. It was left in this bath, which was frequently renewed, for nearly two months, when the corrosion had been entirely removed and the original bronze surface was revealed.

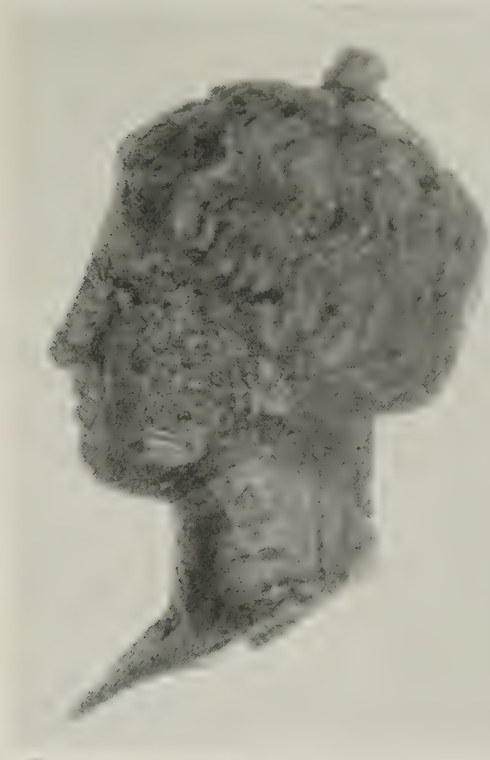


Fig. 5. Bronze Head before Cleaning

The preservation of the head, which is somewhat more than half life-size, is excellent except that the eyes which were inset are missing (Fig. 6). They were probably made of silver since on each side of the neck and outlining the edge of the hair on the forehead and at the back of the neck are shallow grooves, 0.002 m. wide and 0.001 m. deep, in which strips of silver were inlaid, a piece of which is still preserved in place above the right eye. Two narrow strips of a darker metal, perhaps copper, are also set vertically in the back neck extending down from a similar band which is placed below the groove from which the silver has disappeared (Fig. 7). The inlays were evidently hammered into the grooves and only those of precious metal have been removed.<sup>1</sup> On each side of the head the silver strip has been carried up over the hair to the top of the head, and silver earrings were inlaid in the lobes of the ears. The purpose of the inlays is to variegate and heighten by contrast the effect of the mass of bronze. When used

they generally appear as eyes, earrings and the nipples of the breasts, less frequently as teeth and finger-nails. Decorative details in silver also appear on fillets and girdles. The use of silver inlay in any manner resembling that of the head from the Agora is not otherwise known to me. Although the inlaying of bronze sculpture is not common before the Hellenistic period examples from the fifth century are not unknown. A statuette of a girl in Berlin has an inlaid bronze band along the edge of her cloak, her fillet was of copper and the eyes were inlaid with silver.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of inlaying on Greek bronze see K. Kluge, *Die antiken Großbronzen*, I, pp. 144 f.; G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, pp. xxiv ff. Miss Richter refers to the study by F. Wieseler in *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, pp. 29 ff., and pp. 481 ff., where a large number of works is listed on which some form of inlay is used. See also W. Deonna in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, IV, p. 1492, s. v. *statuaria*.

<sup>2</sup> W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 155. Cf. also p. 151.





Fig. 6. Bronze Head. Front View

The head from the Agora was cast as a separate unit by the hollow casting process and a considerable amount of the clay core still remained in the interior when it was found.<sup>1</sup> Casting of bronze statues in several parts, which were subsequently soldered or riveted together, was commonly practiced by the Greeks, and a head and body

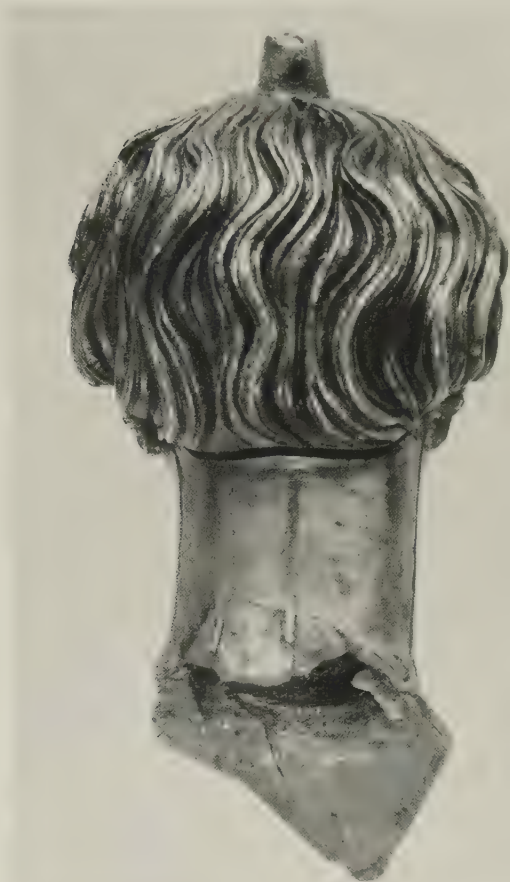


Fig. 7. Bronze Head. Back

before their union appear in one of the scenes from a foundry on a red-figured Cylix in the Berlin Antiquarium.<sup>2</sup> At the base of the neck of the Agora head in front the metal extends for a length of 0.05 m. in a triangular projection. It, therefore, seems probable that the head formed part of a small draped figure. On the right side of the neck a rectangular patch is plainly visible (Pl. XV). This is undoubtedly a repair necessitated by some defect in the casting. Such defects, which it was almost impossible to prevent, were skillfully repaired by the insertion of a thin plate, which must have been invisible after the final polishing and patination of the work.<sup>3</sup> A small knob (ht.: 0.013 m.; bottom diam.: 0.015 m.) projects from the top of the head. It is finished on top, not broken, and is vertically pierced (Fig. 8). There are also holes through it in front and behind, and two other small holes behind it, one in the middle of the back hair and the other close to the knob on the left side. The purpose of this projection is puzzling but the interpretation here presented seems to satisfy both the technical and the artistic requirements.<sup>4</sup> The knob

<sup>1</sup> A full description of the material used as the core for bronze casting is given by Kluge, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Furtwängler, *Vasensammlung im Antiquarium*, II, pp. 593 ff., No. 2294. Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1490, s. v. *statuaria* (Deonna); *ibid.*, I, pp. 790–791, s. v. *caelatura* (Saglio). S. Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, pp. 159 f.

<sup>3</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1490; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VIII, pp. 174 ff.; H. Lechat in *B. C. H.*, XV, 1891, pp. 471 ff.; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum*, xxxv; S. Casson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f. K. Kluge, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation was first suggested by Valentin Müller.



The Bronze Head





served as a support for an additional piece of the head-dress, consisting of scattered locks, which was made separately and riveted to the knob. It would have been difficult to cast the curly ends of this top-knot in one piece with the head, and it was, therefore, made separately. The joint was probably concealed by the strip of silver which evidently circled the knob after being brought up on each side of the head (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Bronze Head. Top

In order to make the stray locks more secure two of them were fastened to the head where the rivet holes are still visible.<sup>1</sup>

Figure 9 shows a restoration of the head with top-knot in place drawn by P. de Jong. The authority for the restoration is derived from the vases of Meidias<sup>2</sup> and from the

<sup>1</sup> The rivet which fastens the upper and lower parts of the statuette published by Lechat, *l. c.*, pl. IX, is placed directly in front, on the lower edge of the apotygmata. The surface of the bronze must have been originally finished in such a way as to conceal this spot which would have been an obvious blemish.

<sup>2</sup> G. Nicole, *Meidias*, pp. 106-107, pls. III, VI, XI, XII.



Fig. 9. Bronze Head. Reconstruction drawn by Piet de Jong

coins of Syracuse,<sup>1</sup> both dating from the second half of the fifth century. Nicole, commenting on this style of head-dress of the women of the Meidias painter, states that it recalls representations of flames,<sup>2</sup> and Beazley, in reference to a similar coiffure,

<sup>1</sup> S. Boehringer, *Die Münzen von Syrakus*, pl. 22, nos. 597–599.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 106.



suggests that this may be the style called "lampadion" by Pollux.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is supported by the statement of Dicaearchus, a pupil of Aristotle, that the beautiful Theban women wore their blond hair fastened on top of the head in a style called by the natives "lampadion."<sup>2</sup> The careful articulation of the locks of the hair of the head from the Agora is most noticeable, but the arrangement is neither formal nor artificial, and stray curls are allowed to hang down on each side of the ear. The modelling of the features is executed with skill and accuracy, with avoidance of fullness and of superfluous expression, so that the dominant effect produced is one of dignity and repose.

We have now to consider the date of this beautiful piece of sculpture. It has already been stated that it was found in a well which was covered by the foundation blocks of a building erected in the early part of the third century B.C. (see above, p. 453). Therefore all the objects in the well must antedate that period. External comparative evidence confirms this chronology for such material as the lamps and the pottery. Six lamps were taken from the well, three of which are shown in the picture of selected objects illustrated in Fig. 2 on p. 453. One lamp found near the top of the shaft and one from the very bottom belong to type ix of Broneer's classification of the lamps of Corinth, which he dates early in the third century.<sup>3</sup> Most of the pottery is of the coarse undecorated household variety which cannot be closely dated, but the bowls with relief decoration, "Megarian bowls," of the type here found are placed in the third century.<sup>4</sup> The sum of evidence, therefore, clearly indicates the time when the head was thrown away, but to determine the approximate date of its production it must be studied from the stylistic point of view.

The arrangement of the hair on the Agora head with its necessary termination in a top-knot of flowing locks finds its closest parallel on coins of Syracuse which are dated 474 to 450. But the similarity is not limited to the head-dress. The shape of the head, the curl hanging down in front of the ear, the eye, the slightly parted lips, the outward curve of the lower lip are characteristics common to both works.<sup>5</sup> The bronze head has the serenity and severity of expression which characterize the work of the fifth century and it conspicuously lacks the roundness of contours and the suggestion of sentiment which are common in the latter part of the fourth. But the thinness of the lower eyelids and the full shape of the lips would tend to bring it late in the fifth century or early in the fourth.

A curious symbol in the shape of the letter xi (Ξ) is incised in the back of the neck close to the groove for the silver inlay on the left side. What is the significance of this symbol? Can it be the initial letter of an artist's signature? Some of the Syracusan coins to which reference has been made have the letter A in the field behind

<sup>1</sup> *C. V. A. Oxford*, I, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, II, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, 2, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à reliefs*, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> See Boehringer, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, no. 597 (letter A in field behind neck).

the neck. This has been interpreted as the artist's initial.<sup>1</sup> If we assume a similar hypothesis for the letter on the bronze head we must seek a sculptor with that initial who worked in the period to which the head belongs. The only sculptor known to



Fig. 10. Nereid. Right Side



Fig. 11. Nereid. Left Side

us who satisfies the requirements is Xenophon, the Athenian, who coöperated with Cephisodotus in making a group for Megalopolis.<sup>2</sup> Xenophon also coöperated on a statue of Tyche for the Thebans, making the hands and the head while Kallistonikos,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65 and 82.

<sup>2</sup> J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, pp. 219 f., nos. 1140 ff. See W. Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 85.



The "Nereid"





a native, made the rest.<sup>1</sup> If the sculptor of the handsome ornate head from the Agora were a different man from him who made the statue, whose signature would normally be placed on its base, it is comprehensible that he should cut his initial on the back of the neck, just as the initials of artists were stamped on coins. This explanation, however, is merely suggested in lieu of any better interpretation of the symbol.

The association of the bronze head with the circle of Cephisodotus necessarily suggests a comparison with the Eirene of that sculptor,<sup>2</sup> but the types of figure represented are so different that there is little resemblance except in some general stylistic traits. However, there seems to me to be no prohibitive reason why the head should not be assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century.

#### THE "NEREID"

A marble statue of a young woman of approximately the same period is the next work which will be here discussed (Pl. XVI and Figs. 10 to 12).<sup>3</sup> The woman wears an Ionic chiton which is fastened on the right arm and shoulder, and is draped in such a manner as to leave the left arm and breast bare. The figure is represented in an attitude of motion with the result that the thin, transparent material of the garment is blown back against the



Fig. 12. Nereid. Back

<sup>1</sup> Paus. IX, 16, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griech. und röm. Skulptur*, pl. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. 1311-S 182. Found on February 12, 1932 in Section Epsilon, 25/AE to AET, on the Graeco-Roman level, just north of the marble altar. Parian marble. Greatest height: 1.25 m.; width at shoulders: 0.45 m. Missing are the head, the right forearm, most of the left arm, the feet and the end of the drapery on the left side of the body.

body, to which it clings so closely that the contours of the form are revealed. The folds of the drapery are executed in delicate and graceful style. Particularly charming are the wavy lines of the material below the left breast, and the contrast between the mass of the end of the garment clasped, presumably, by the right hand in front of the body and the thin, tightly-drawn material adjoining. The figure is not carefully finished on the back and the hair is left in an uncut mass, so that it was evidently planned for a position against a wall where it would not be visible from behind. The general treatment of the drapery, the motive of the grouped mass in front of the body and the way in which delicate folds start from a smooth surface and are again lost in it are reminiscent of the stylistic characteristics of the Nereids from Xanthos and of some of the figures from the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros.

A statue very similar to this, but of smaller size (ht.: 0.762 m.), stands in Burlington House, London. Nothing is known of its history or its provenance but it has been greatly admired by Sir Charles Walston,<sup>1</sup> and recently (1932) has been fully published by B. Ashmole.<sup>2</sup> The statue has been assigned to Timotheos by G. Lippold<sup>3</sup> and has been associated by him with various related works.<sup>4</sup> Ashmole, however, points out certain differences in the treatment of the drapery between the London figure and the akroteria from Epidauros. In just this respect the statue from the Agora resembles the akroteria. It has the bunch of drapery held in front of the middle of the body as on the Nereid, No. 156, Athens National Museum, the wavy folds between the breasts as on the Nike, No. 155, the bare left breast like the Nike, No. 162.<sup>5</sup> The fine clinging garment and the elegance of the folds are conspicuous characteristics of these related works. The new statue is a lovely work, full of joyous spirit and the vitality of youth, a masterwork of the first quarter of the fourth century, perhaps from the hand of Timotheos.

The identity of the statue, whether Nike or Nereid, Goddess or Heroine, is problematical. Because of its size and pose and the fact that the back is unfinished it may have stood in a pediment. Or it may have been associated in some way with the marble altar near which it was found.

#### MARBLE HEAD OF A YOUTH

The development of sculpture in the fourth century is illustrated by the head of a youth (Figs. 13 and 14).<sup>6</sup> The head is bent so as to incline slightly to the left. The

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on Greek Sculpture*, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 747 and 748; text pp. 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Philologische Wochenschrift*, March 31, 1928, Col. 402.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, June 11, 1932, Col. 647. Cp. also text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 664–665; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 177 f.

<sup>5</sup> Pictures of these akroteria are conveniently grouped by G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*<sup>2</sup>, figs. 710–713.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. No. 2298–S 212. Found on April 18, 1932 in a cistern in Section Delta, 3/ΣΤ. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.245 m.; width: 0.17 m.; chin to crown: 0.228 m.; chin to roots of hair above brow: 0.163 m.



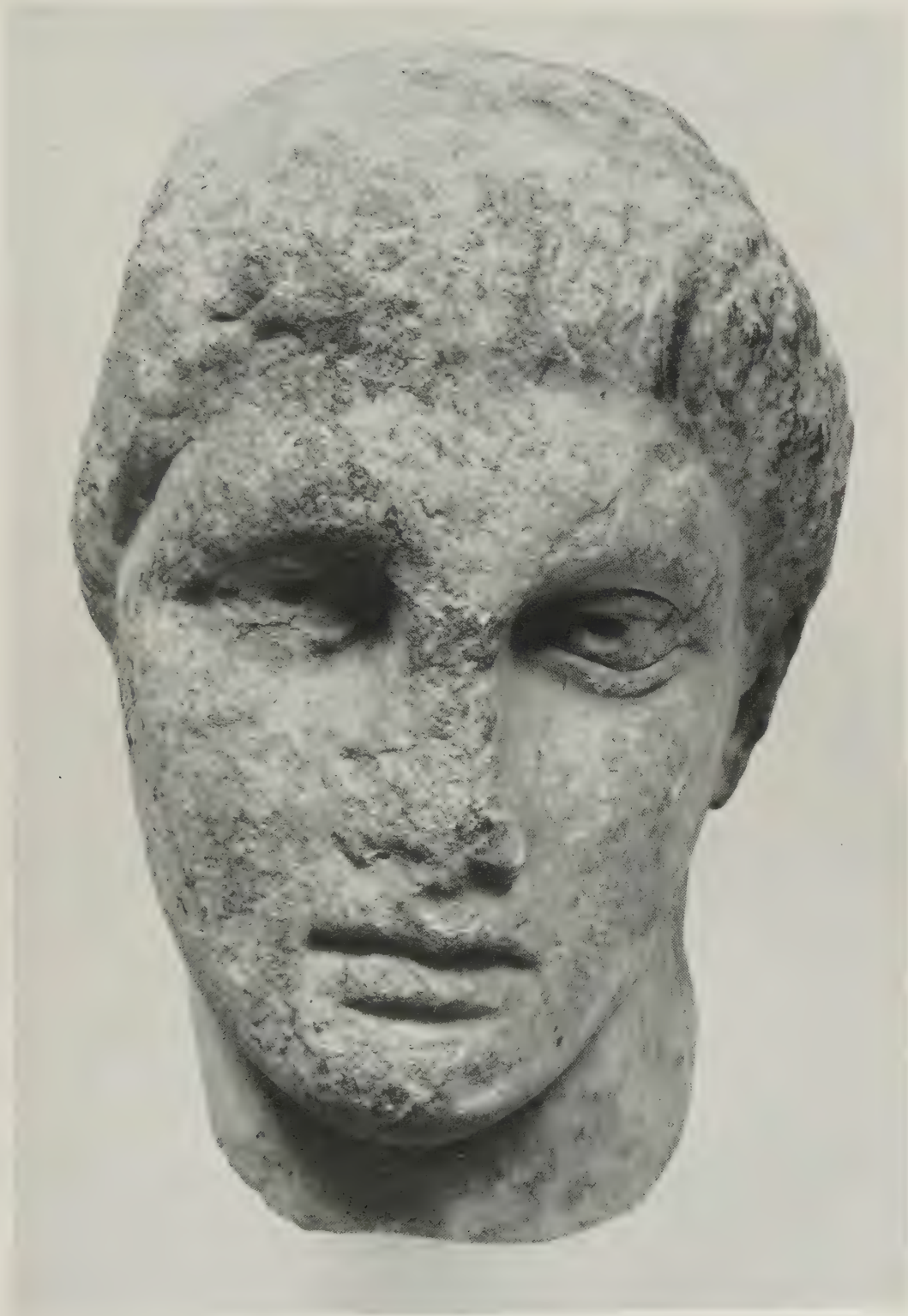


Fig. 13. Marble Head of a Youth



Fig. 14. Head of Youth. Profile



Fig. 15. Small Marble Head

hair is arranged in an almost straight line on the forehead, the bridge of the nose is broad, and the lips are full. The eyes are very characteristically portrayed with the inner ends deeply sunk beneath the overhanging brows. The upper lids are straight while the lower are curved. The pupil of paste or metal was inserted in a conical depression made by the drill just as it was inserted in the eye of the bronze boy from Antikythera. The ear has an unusually small lobe, and the hair is left in a rough unfinished state.

The expression of detached sentiment illustrated by this head associates it with the group of works attributed to Skopas. The pose of the head is almost identical with that of the Meleager in the Villa Medici, and the shape of the mouth, the eyes and the broad bridge of the nose are similar.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance to the heads from Tegea is striking, in the shape of the face, the expression of the eyes, the treatment of mouth, nose and overhanging eyebrows. The shape of the ear with its small lobe is similar to that of the helmeted warrior.<sup>2</sup> There is also close likeness to a head in high relief in the Metropolitan Museum of New York which has been attributed to the school of Skopas.<sup>3</sup> The essential characteristics of the features such as the parted lips, the inflated nostrils and the overhanging brow are similar, but the square shape of the head from the Agora more nearly approximates that of the heads from Tegea.

The ever present question arises whether this is a Greek original work or a Roman copy. The circumstances of discovery give no aid to the solution of the problem since the cistern in which it was found contained a Byzantine fill. The head conveys a very different impression from that received from characteristic Roman copies such as the Meleager of the Vatican or the Landsdowne Herakles.<sup>4</sup> There is, in fact, nothing typically Roman about the finish of the marble, but the practice of drilling holes for the insertion of the pupils of the eyes or for the representation of such pupils does not become common before the second century A.D. The freshness and vigor of the modelling of the surface argue for the interpretation of the head as a product of a Greek atelier. If it was made in the Roman period the fidelity to its model is extraordinary.

#### MINIATURE MARBLE HEAD

The small marble head of a bearded man shown in Fig. 15 represents the ideal Greek type of the man of thought.<sup>5</sup> The impression is conveyed by the lofty brow, the ex-

<sup>1</sup> Balle, *op. cit.*, pl. 212. Text p. 481, fig. 144. *Antike Denkmäler*, I, pl. 40. Cp. the copy in the Fogg Museum at Cambridge, G. H. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, pp. 87 ff., figs. 97 and 101.

<sup>2</sup> C. Dugas, *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, pl. CII, A.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin*, VI, 1911, pp. 210-211 (Richter). Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 171. Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Well illustrated in E. A. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, pl. LVII.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. No. 1224-S 177. Found on February 13, 1932 in the water-channel in Section Epsilon. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.048 m.; width: 0.036 m.; thickness: 0.04 m.





Fig. 16. Marble Head of Roman Period

pression of the deep-set eyes, the pose of the head, the presence of the beard and the dignity of the features. The type is that of the idealized poet or philosopher, but the fillet around the head rather suggests its interpretation as a successful poet crowned with the symbol of victory. And, in fact, the head is similar in many respects to the portrait bust which has been identified as that of the poet Homer.<sup>1</sup> But the type is general rather than individualistic and occurs, for example, on the so-called Sophokles in Copenhagen.<sup>2</sup> The deposit in which the head was lying dates from the third and fourth centuries A.D., so that our head is probably a small Roman copy of a large Greek work, but it is a good illustration of how largeness of style and conception may be mirrored in a miniature form.

#### HEAD OF A ROMAN MATRON

The Roman period is represented by a marble head of life-size which portrays the type of a Roman Matron (Figs. 16 and 17).<sup>3</sup> The work was not finished and thus affords the opportunity of studying the technique of the Athenian stone-cutter in Roman times. The face has been nearly completed but it has not received the final polish, and deep tool-marks are visible on each side of the mouth. These furrows seem to be cut too deeply for harmony

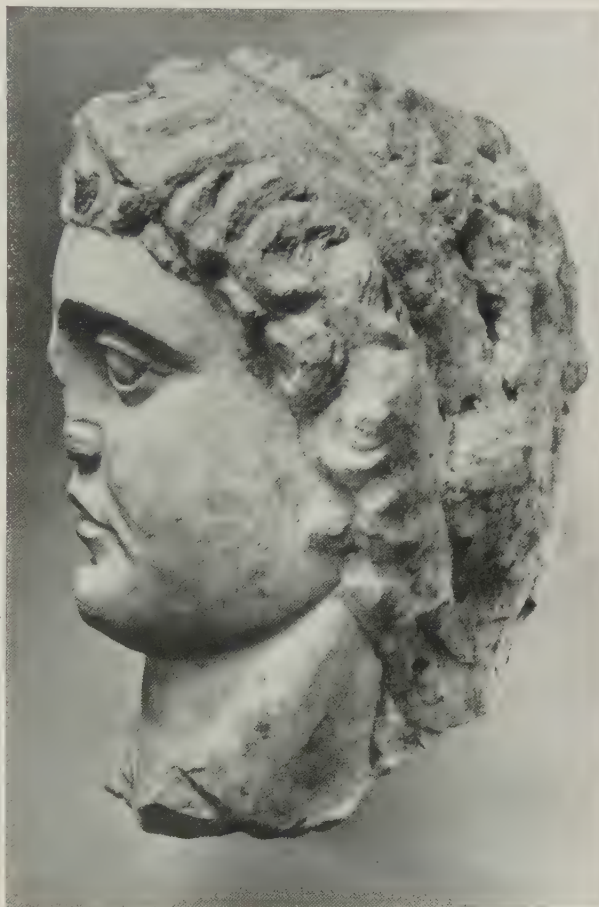


Fig. 17. Marble Head. Profile

with the adjoining surfaces and it may be that the error of the craftsman at these points led to the rejection of the head. The mass of the hair is only roughly blocked out. The head was found on the Roman level at the base of the cliff

<sup>1</sup> Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, pls. 1—2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pls. 33—34.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. No. 1783—S 203. Found on March 16, 1932 in Section Alpha, 33/KZ at a depth of 2.65 m. Pentelie marble. Height: 0.29 m.; width: 0.19 m.; thickness: 0.19 m.; chin to crown: 0.213 m.; chin to roots of hair on brow: 0.141 m.

formed by the cutting away of the rock of the Kolonos Agoraios for the accommodation of the west side of the building west of the Royal Stoa. The type is clearly Roman and the characteristic expression of the features implies a portrait of some individual. There is a general resemblance to some portraits of Roman women made in the second century but it is not possible to identify the head with any known person.



Fig. 18. Marble Herm

#### THE MARBLE HERM

A type of statue which was very popular in the ancient Agora is represented by the Herm shown in Fig. 18.<sup>1</sup> The square shaft is surmounted by the head of a beardless

<sup>1</sup> Inv. No. 1728 S 198. Found on March 10, 1932 in a cistern in Section Delta, 03/IE. Pentelic marble. Height: 0.585 m.; width: 0.38 m. The pillar, which is 0.132 m. square, is broken at the bottom.



youth over which a heavy garment is draped with its ends hanging down on either side in deeply cut folds. On the right side is a vertical V-shaped cutting ( $0.35 \times 0.04$  m.) with two holes, in one of which part of a metal dowel is still preserved. Another cutting in the back measures  $0.32 \times 0.09 \times 0.03$  m. These cuttings served for the attachment of supports leading to the statue with which the Herm was connected. It is thus clear that this statue, like the Herm found in the campaign of 1931,<sup>1</sup> formed part of a group. On its right stood a life-sized figure, perhaps a statue of Hermes, which rested its left elbow on the mantle above the head of the Herm, like the pose of a group in Madrid.<sup>2</sup> The Praxitelean character of the new work is apparent, especially in the treatment of the head with its soft contours, its expressive eyes and its short curly hair. The drapery with the ample realistic folds is also a characteristic feature of the groups in Madrid and in Olympia. The employment of these Herms as supports for adjoining statues may be used as an argument in favor of the original presence of the support of the statue at Olympia, for a Roman copyist would not add a support of this kind to a copy of a free-standing statue. The support was surely part of the original design of the group.<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of discovery and the style of workmanship indicate that the new statue was made in the Roman period.

#### BRONZE STATUETTE OF ATHENA

A bronze statuette of Athena was found in a well and is in a poorly preserved condition (Fig. 19).<sup>4</sup> The goddess wears a crested Attic helmet and has the aegis on her breast. The himation is draped across the front of the figure with the end passing over the left shoulder. Although the left forearm is missing the remaining stump shows that the arm was raised in a



Fig. 19. Bronze Statuette of Athena

<sup>1</sup> *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 29, 1931, p. 337, fig. 1; Rizzo, G. E., *Praxiteles*, pp. 9–10, pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 404; S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, IV, p. 98; Rizzo, *op. cit.*, pls. XII–XIII. Cp. also the group at Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. LXVII.

<sup>3</sup> See Lullies, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65 and the references there cited.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 2652 B 55. Found on May 5, 1932 in a well in Section Delta, 51/K, at a depth of 10.30 m. Height of figure: 0.126 m.; base: 0.051 m. square and 0.043 m. high.

position appropriate for holding a spear. The right hand which holds an owl is preserved although it was broken from the wrist. Both feet have disintegrated because of the corrosion of the metal, but the statuette certainly stood on the small base which was found with it. This type of Athena is well known from a series of similar bronze statuettes several of which were found at Herculaneum.<sup>1</sup> Such a repetition of a characteristic type implies the existence of a noted prototype and the discovery of an example in Athens adds support to the view that the figure represents the statue of Athena Archegetis who is described by the scholiast on Aristophanes as holding an owl in her hand.<sup>2</sup> In the same stratum with the bronze were one coin of Diocletian (284-308 A.D.), four Roman coins of the 2nd to 3rd century and four Imperial Athenian coins dating from the same period. Several lamps of type xxvii were also in the deposit, including one signed ΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΥ (L 594),<sup>3</sup> and the pieces of a marble statue of a satyr.

#### THE SATYR

The statue had been broken into seventy-three pieces but all these pieces had been thrown into the well and all fit together. The statue, as it appears after the joining of the parts but without restoration, is shown in Figs. 20-24.<sup>4</sup> The face was split off in a single piece without injury to eye, nose or mouth. This happy result was undoubtedly due to a vein in the marble which lent itself readily to a clean fracture. Probably because of a similar defect in the marble the back of the head had been broken from the front in antiquity and had been subsequently mended. The line of this break passes through the right ear, as may be seen on the profile view of the head, Fig. 24. The ancient repair was made by the insertion of an iron dowel between the parts which were then cemented together. In its mended state the statue is now complete except for some pieces of fingers, some minor chips, and the central part of the body of the goat which squats on the ground beside the youth.

The statue represents a merry boy who is standing on a bit of rocky ground. With his left hand he grasps the horn of a goat which is in an upright position beside him, with its hindquarters resting on the ground and its raised forefeet placed on the stump of a tree. The boy holds a syrinx in his right hand, and has a pleased expression on his face as if he had just finished a tune which he had greatly enjoyed. About his body is thrown a fawn's skin, one leg of which hangs down on his right thigh. The marble of the uncovered parts of the body in front is smooth and highly polished but

<sup>1</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 280-281.

<sup>2</sup> *Aves* 515. Cp. O. Broneer, *A. J. A.*, XXXII, 1928, p. 468, *ibid. Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Lamps of this type are dated late in the second century by O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, 2, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. 2879-S 221. Found on May 5, 1932 in a well in Section Delta, 51/K, at a depth of 10.30 m. Pentelic marble. Total height: 1.25 m. Head, chin to crown: 0.204 m.; chin to roots of hair on brow: 0.129 m.; width: 0.138 m.



Fig. 20. The Young Satyr



the surface of the fawn-skin is left in a roughly picked state so that it would take more readily the yellow paint with which it was covered and which is still partially preserved. The hair of the boy was also painted, as was the goat by his side. The

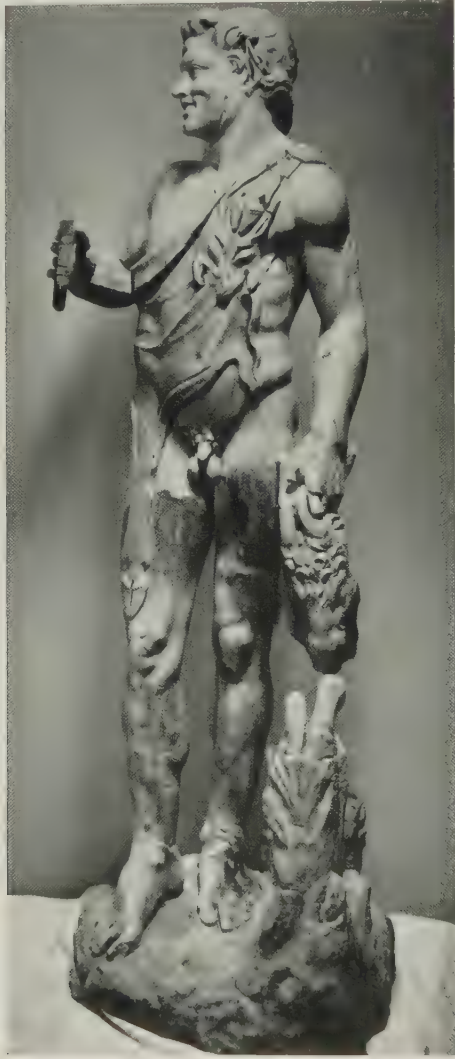


Fig. 21. Satyr



Fig. 22. Satyr. Back

marble of the statue is not smoothly finished behind and the figure was evidently not intended to be viewed from the rear, but a small curly tail is attached as a typical attribute of the creature of the hills and woods (Fig. 22).

A view of the front of the head illustrates the careful manner in which the bony structure of the human brow has been modified so that the short horns would seem to



Fig. 23. Head of Satyr. Front



Fig. 24. Head of Satyr. Profile



grow naturally out of the forehead (Fig. 23). The horns are so small and are so skillfully placed in the hair as to be little conspicuous. Apart from them the only trait that marks the semi-human character of the head is the pointed ear (Fig. 24). The pupil and iris of the eye were painted, as we know from the roughened state in which the marble of the background has been preserved. The nose is broad with the nostrils dilated. The upper row of teeth is clearly visible in the grinning mouth. The lips are full and thick, and deep dimples are indicated in each cheek. The result is a realistic expression of a happy, carefree nature.

The statue represents the type of cheerful young country boy who often appears as a satyr in late Hellenistic art. The exaggerated modelling of the features occurs on the head of a youthful satyr in Munich though the troubled expression of that face, the treatment of the hair, the absence of horns, and other characteristics clearly differentiate it from the satyr of the Agora.<sup>1</sup> In its cheerful expression, at least, the new head more closely resembles that of the young centaur of the group in the Capitoline Museum.<sup>2</sup> While our statue reflects the Hellenistic spirit the technique shows that it was made in the Roman period. The evidence for dating in the third century A.D. the stratum of the deposit in which it was found has been given in connection with the bronze statuette of Athena. Above it at a higher level in the well, at a depth of about 10 m., were objects of the fourth century, including lamps of Type xxviii and Roman coins (one of Gratianus 375–383). Nothing in this well was later than 4th–5th century. It is clear, then, that the statue was thrown into the well in the third century. The excellence of the workmanship in general and some details of execution such as the high polish given to the surface of the marble indicate that it was made either in the Augustan or in the Hadrianic period. I am inclined to assign it to the time of Hadrian when there was great artistic activity in Athens.

This account of the discoveries in the field of sculpture made during one season of excavation shows that not only have masterpieces of art been found which date from the great periods of its bloom, but also that our knowledge has been supplemented by new and interesting types. The variety of period and of style represented emphasizes the obvious possibility that other important works of sculpture will be uncovered as the excavation of the area progresses.

<sup>1</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 740.

<sup>2</sup> W. Helbig, *Führer*<sup>3</sup>, I, nos. 861–862. J. Sieveking in Text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 740, p. 13, fig. 1.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

# A GEOMETRIC HOUSE AND A PROTO-ATTIC VOTIVE DEPOSIT

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

On the north slope of the Areiopagos, the junction of two modern streets, *Ἀστεροσκοπείου* and *Ἀπολλοδώρου*, forms a rough triangle with its sharpest corner to the west. Here, where the ways from the Agora parted, to the Pnyx on the right and to the Acropolis on the left, scholars had conjecturally placed the Tholos, the Metroon, and the Bouleuterion.<sup>2</sup> The excavation of a good portion of this area in the spring of 1932 showed that the street lines ran much as had been supposed, but it revealed no public buildings. Instead, an unexpected bit of the Athens of a remote period was found miraculously preserved in an area approximately 10 m. square. For, in a complex of Greek and Roman houses, streets, and drains, two remarkable discoveries came to light: a Geometric house and a votive deposit of the first half of the seventh century B.C. Owing to the unusual character of these discoveries and to the presence of valuable chronological evidence, they have been considered worthy of full discussion in this preliminary report.

## ARCHITECTURE

The area under consideration (Fig. 1) escaped for some reason the complete destruction which most of the region underwent in Roman times. It lies at the base of a ridge of soft rock which at various periods was faced by retaining walls. Below the retaining walls the ground slopes away gradually to the north. The early deposit was therefore most deeply preserved at the south (ca. 1.00 m.). The bounds are definite. On the south runs a very late wall of heavy conglomerate blocks (see Plan, Fig. 2, Late Wall). At

<sup>1</sup> To the Director of the American School I am indebted for lending me the services of Joseph Shelley for the preparation of the architectural drawings. The profiles and drawings of the pottery are by Piet de Jong of the Agora staff and the photographs by H. Wagner of the German Institute. Many visiting scholars and friends have contributed help that cannot all be acknowledged in full, but Dr. Kübler, Dr. Kraiker, Dr. Welter, Mr. Humphry Payne, and M. Kourouniotes should be particularly thanked for showing me unpublished material from the Kerameikos, Aegina, Eleusis, and Perachora. Franklin Daniel of the University of California gave me valuable criticism on the Geometric section. I am especially grateful to Dr. Homer A. Thompson for much assistance during excavation and afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, Plan I, p. 344, fig. 43.

the southeast this wall had to be removed for the excavation of the early deposit beneath it. On the east a retaining wall runs approximately north-south (D-D). It is built of large conglomerate and limestone blocks, fairly well cut, bedded on one thin course of limestone. The finish of the surface indicates that the wall was built to face east. This wall cut through the early deposit. Its date cannot be closely determined, but the filling and



Fig. 1. Geometric Area from the Southeast. The pits shown on the Plan, Fig. 2, have been refilled and wall A rebuilt

other evidence point to the late Hellenistic period. On the north the area was much disturbed in very late Roman times. On the west the native rock is cut away irregularly by modern cellars.

Within this area late intrusions have done much damage. At the southeast, Byzantine cisterns penetrated into the early deposit. Along the western side a modern house wall and a Byzantine cistern destroyed all but a fragment of the apsidal wall of Geometric times. Finally eight pits which are lettered on the plan, two of them originally classical wells (F and I), were sunk into the area. These pits yielded many early sherds from the deposits that they had destroyed.



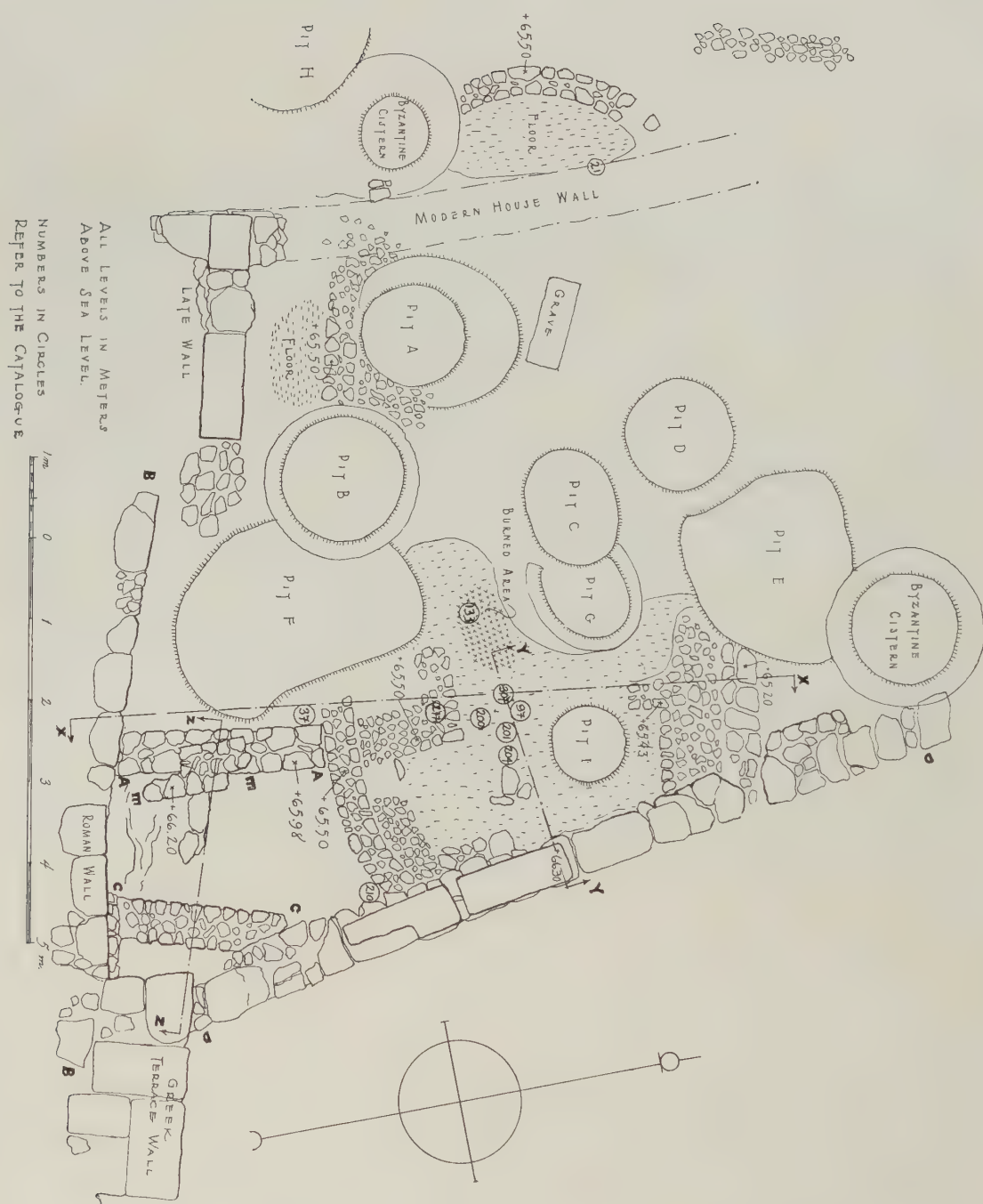


Fig. 2. Plan of the Area

The early architectural remains in this area are therefore too fragmentary for our complete understanding. Despite these intrusions, however, it is possible to trace the relative architectural chronology. In the first place, two curved walls with approximately parallel fragments of walls joining them are apparent on the plan (Fig. 2). These walls might belong to two apsidal buildings facing each other. But division into two buildings with a court or street between them gives a plan of absurd proportions. In addition, the fact that these walls are similar in construction, size, and level seems to indicate that they belong to one building. The curves supplement each other neatly and the floors lie at the same level. Restoration of these walls to form an elliptical house of  $11.00 \times 5.00$  m. oriented east and west makes a reasonable and intelligible plan (Fig. 3).

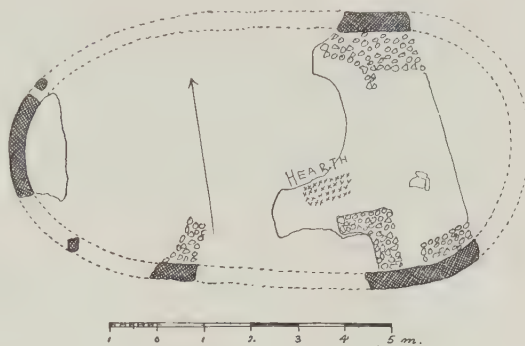


Fig. 3. Plan of the Geometric House

The curved walls and the wall on the south are built of small stones to a height of 0.10 to 0.25 m., varying with the level of the virgin soil on which they are bedded (Fig. 4). They vary from 0.35 m. to 0.40 m. in width with a level top. The wall on the north side, however, differs in style. It is built of much larger stones. Its average width is 0.40 m.; its height, consisting of one layer of

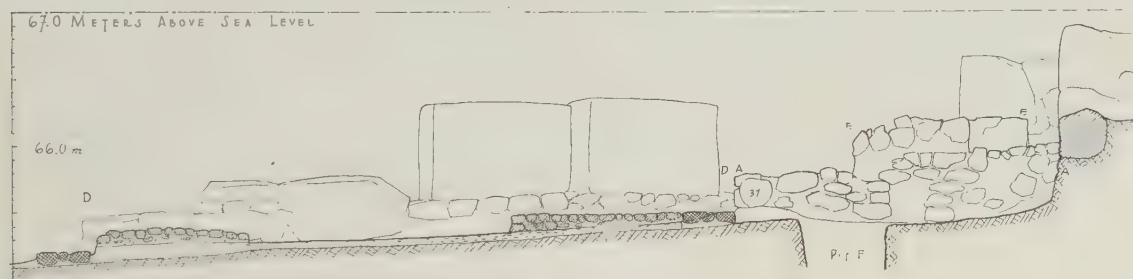


Fig. 4. Section through the Geometric House at X-X on the Plan

stones, is 0.20 m. above hard-pan. Its top level is *ca.* 0.30 m. below that of the other walls. But since it lies lower on the slope, this fact does not exclude it from connection with them.

Inside the western apse a floor of hard-packed earth and red sand is preserved, resting on hard-pan and full of carbonized matter and a few Geometric sherds. The level is 0.15 m. below the top of the wall. Upon this floor, 0.60 m. inside the apse, just under a modern house-wall stood a Geometric oinochoe (No. 21, Fig. 2, see below, p. 555). To the east of the modern house-wall a small grave was cut into bed-rock

(see below, p. 552). The filling over it was disturbed but its upper level must have been close to that of the floor.

The floor at the eastern end of the building is better preserved (Fig. 5). Owing to the lower ground level, the hard red floor is bedded on a filling of dark earth full of carbonized matter and some gravel, resting on hard-pan. The surface of the floor is covered in places with fine white sea-sand, such as was also found in houses of the



Fig. 5. The Eastern End of the Geometric House, looking North. Pit I is shown here and in Fig. 6 before Excavation

Middle Cypriote period.<sup>1</sup> Toward the centre a region *ca.* 1.00 m. long by 0.60 m. wide shows a thin layer of burning. Although no construction exists about it, this probably indicates the hearth.<sup>2</sup> Sherds from the floor itself and from the filling beneath it at this end are Geometric (see below, p. 555, Fig. 12).

Over this floor, against the walls, peculiar erections of small stones were found, laid in some places with a neat inner edge and level top. Trenches cut through these erections revealed one or two layers of small stones, sometimes laid with sand as a

<sup>1</sup> E. Gjerstadt, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Uppsala, 1926, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 14.



mortar, *ca.* 0.15 m. deep, resting on the house-floor. They must be, therefore, additions to the house rather than an integral part of it. Since no brick lay directly on them, they could not have been walls. Nor did they serve as paving, being elevated above the rest of the floor level. The northeastern stone platform, however, projects in such a way as to suggest that it may have served as a crude division between the entrance and the central part of the house. Rather, these stone erections seem to be benches or platforms for beds, such as have been found in Eutresis,<sup>1</sup> in Korakou,<sup>2</sup> and in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> On the floor in the eastern end rest two large irregular stones and a granite quern. The pottery found upon the floor and stone platforms at this end is scanty. It includes Geometric, Protocorinthian and Proto-attic sherds (see below, p. 555, Fig. 12).

The plan of the house is that of an asymmetrical ellipse. With this plan a possible covering would be the hoop-roof of reeds bent over and thatched outside.<sup>4</sup> The presence of the clay layer over the walls and floor, however, suggests that the walls were of sun-dried brick, with a steep thatched roof such as is represented on terracotta models of the late Geometric period.<sup>5</sup> These steep roofs do not seem to have needed any interior support. A remarkably close parallel is the poros model from Samos which is elliptical in plan with a door asymmetrically placed on the side and a pitch roof with two dormer-like smoke-holes at the ends.<sup>6</sup> Buschor dates this in the late seventh or early sixth century, but it might well represent the tradition of a house-type like ours. But since the evidence is insufficient for certainty, the plan (Fig. 3) is restored with no suggestion for the placing of the door and no attempt at the reconstruction of a roof. We have clear evidence only for a house of an asymmetrical elliptical plan, with a hearth fairly near the centre, and stone platforms at the sides. This building appears to have fallen to pieces gradually, remaining in part at least above ground until the early seventh century.

To the south of this house, various fragments of early walls were discovered (Fig. 6). The rubble wall (A-A on the plan) which runs up to the apsidal wall, but at a higher level, its bottom at *ca.* 0.20 m. above the top of the wall, appears also to belong to the Geometric period. Not only does it stop in relation to the house-wall in such a way as to suggest that it must be contemporaneous with it, but against it stood a Geometric oinochoe in such a position that the wall must antedate the vase (see Plan, No. 37, and Figs. 4 and 7; see below, p. 557). This wall A-A is of good heavy construction *ca.* 0.60 m. wide, preserved to a height of *ca.* 0.50 m. above hard-pan with various additions built

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. Blegen, *Korakou*, Boston and New York, 1921, pp. 93-94; cf. p. 81, fig. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Gjerstadt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. B. Holland, *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, pp. 324 ff., fig. 2, I. I am indebted to Dr. Holland for writing me in detail his interpretation of the Agora house. The evidence of the models, however, makes me consider the hoop-roof unlikely in our case.

<sup>5</sup> G. Oikonomos, *Arch. Eph.*, 1931, pp. 1 ff. The apsidal plan of an example recently found at Perachora is especially significant for our house.

<sup>6</sup> E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, pp. 16 f., Beilage IV, fig. 6.



Fig. 6. The Eastern End of the Geometric House and the Walls to the South, looking South



Fig. 7. The Geometric Oinochoe, No. 37, *in situ* against the Wall A A

later on top of it and against it. At its south end a later terrace-wall of rough limestone overlooks it (B-B on plan). The filling, packed hard against the wall A-A, was whitish-yellow fallen brick and earth containing Protocorinthian, Proto-attic, and Geometric sherds. Similar filling with much Proto-attic was packed against the north face of the terrace-wall, B-B. This wall was displaced and broken off by a heavy Greek terrace-wall to the east (Plan, Fig. 2). Against it another fragment of rubble wall, C-C, 0.60 m. wide also abutted. The wall C-C is bedded on an earth filling 0.40 m. over hard-pan and is therefore probably of a later date than the wall A-A. Traces of the greenish bricks set in yellow clay were visible above this wall (see Fig. 8). Fragments of Corinthian skyphoi with white bands were found against it. A section taken between

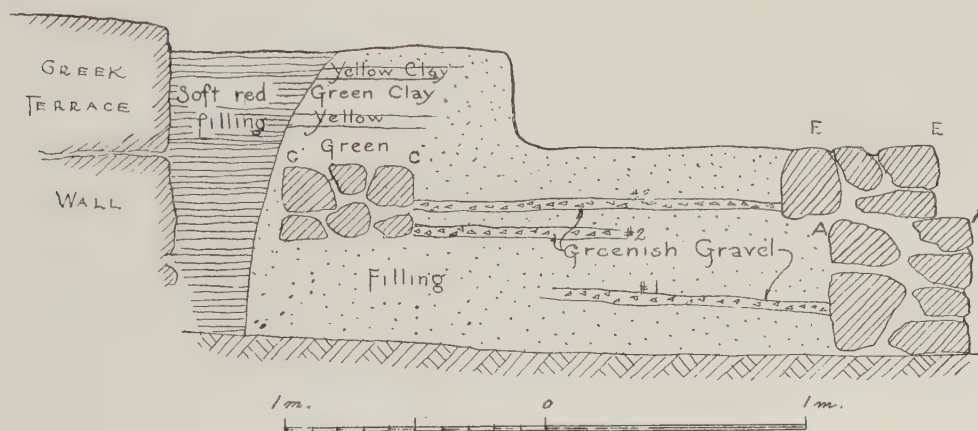


Fig. 8. Section through Walls C-C and A-A looking South along the Line Z-Z

the walls A-A and C-C shows three levels (Fig. 8). The first is the level of the bottom of the wall A-A; the second that of the bottom of the wall C-C; the third, higher up along the wall C-C, is probably that of the additional wall E-E. These levels are those represented by layers of greenish-yellow gravel deposited by water. They are probably habitation-levels in a court or street. To the west of wall A-A stood the vase (No. 37); this indicates that the floor, now destroyed, lay on that side. The filling between these walls A-A and C-C contained some Protocorinthian, much Proto-attic and a little Geometric, as well as abundant household ware. Outside the house along its southern side were traces of a floor with two granite querns and Geometric sherds upon it. Evidently several houses were packed close together at the base of the terrace-wall.

The most interesting portion of this area is the eastern end where a strip of about 3.00 m. in width is preserved along the terrace-wall D-D. Over the end of the house in an area bounded by its walls, which lay, however, at a deeper level, a mass of gravel and small stones was dumped for a filling directly on the layer of clay fallen from the



house walls (Fig. 9). In this filling was contained the votive deposit (see below, p. 636 f.). It was covered by a thin layer of ashes. Through it a narrow trench was cut to lay the wall D-D. Since no stray objects were found outside this area, the deposit probably never extended much farther. To the south, in the area bounded by the walls A-A, B-B, and C-C, which may conveniently be called the Area A-C, the filling contained only household pottery in large quantities and miscellaneous Proto-attic sherds. Since the pottery is clearly contemporary and since, in a few cases, pieces from one vase were found in the two areas, we must assume that the upper fillings at least were thrown in at the same time. This deliberate packing with gravel and stones and discarded

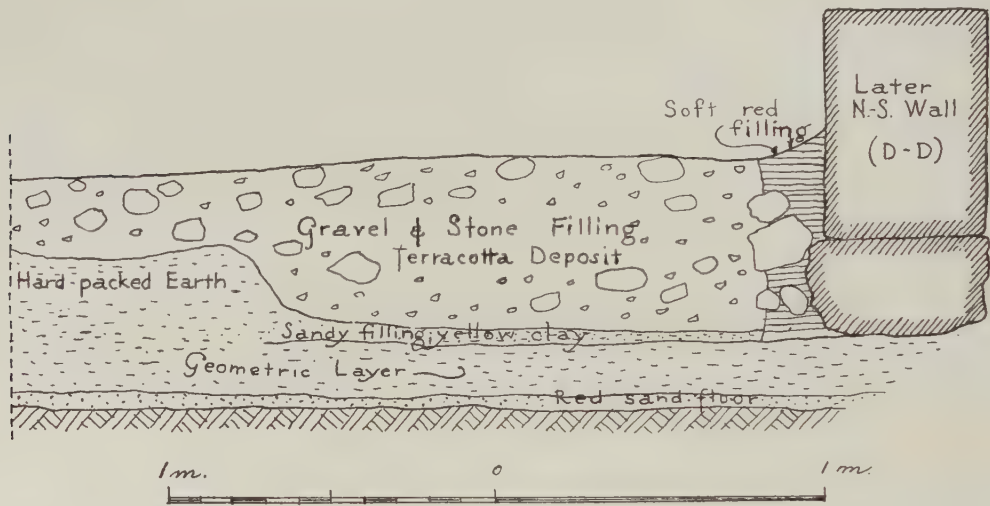


Fig. 9. Section along the Line Y-Y looking North

pottery must have been intended to raise the level so that one could pass up over the ridge of rock to the upper slope of the Areiopagos. It seems, then, that we have here the course of a road. The surface had been cut away by late cisterns, but the long line of the later terrace-wall, itself retaining a filling, seems to preserve the older line. That a right of way is long-lived and a road makes hard digging might explain the extraordinary survival of this bit of primitive Athens.

The scarcity of buildings of the Geometric period in general makes these few walls especially interesting. In Weickert's list of Geometric buildings, those of curved plan seem to have been temples while the houses are rectangular.<sup>1</sup> These buildings have been found at Thermon, Eretria, Thebes, Mt. Ptoon, Sparta, Bukovia (Rhodes), Asine, Miletos, Praisos, Troy, Eleusis,<sup>2</sup> and Perachora. None of them is identical with ours in plan.

<sup>1</sup> C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, Augsburg, 1929, pp. 7 ff., but the house walls near Miletos are in part curved, *Milet*, I, 8, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> A. Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, pl. 29-30, pp. 32 ff.; F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 14; K. Kourouniotes, *Arch. Delt.*, 1930-1931, *παράρτημα*, pp. 23-24.

The only example which is at all similar is that of a small elliptical house recently discovered at Thermon,<sup>1</sup> which was apparently covered with a hoop-roof. The report makes no mention of the pottery found with it. In connection with the form of our house it is perhaps worthy of mention that a sizable deposit of Middle Helladic pottery was found near-by in this area, whereas only two or three Late Helladic sherds came to light. But since the Middle Helladic apsidal plan has one straight end, we cannot insist upon any direct influence upon the Geometric house.

In view of the rare survival of buildings of the Geometric period, it is indeed strange that an Athenian example should have been preserved. A passage in Vitruvius is suggestive in this connection: "Athenis," he writes, "Areopagi antiquitatis exemplar ad hoc tempus luto tectum."<sup>2</sup> If a building with a clay roof of primitive type survived into Roman times on the Areiopagos, presumably that district was not very closely inhabited in the classical period. Possibly this relic of prehistoric Athens, doubtless restored by antiquarians, had been a Geometric house like ours, near ours, which itself lay just under the surface on the outskirts of the city that had moved northward.

#### POTTERY AND OTHER MATERIAL

For the purposes of condensation, all the pottery and objects to be discussed are given serial numbers in order of mention, with a brief description of the more important pieces. The numbers in parentheses are those of the Agora Catalogue. Since each object is illustrated, obvious details are not described, such as shapes, breakages, or missing parts. The technical details, such as the color of the clay and paint are mentioned only when they differ from the norm as it is described at the heading of each class. The following abbreviations are used: H. = height; T. = thickness; D. = depth; L. = length; d. = diameter. It must be noted that this catalogue includes only the most interesting material. Much similar matter of non-significant character has been omitted.

#### GEOMETRIC

The Geometric pottery was found in such circumstances as to indicate a certain relative chronology. According to the architectural evidence, the pottery from the grave appears to be the earliest; that from the house a little later; and the latest is the miscellaneous filling.

In this discussion of the Geometric pottery, the purpose is to present the excavated material with emphasis upon its own relative chronology. When this material has been examined in its own temporal sequence, we may consider what light it may throw upon the problem of absolute dating (see below, p. 566). No more categorical terms than the stylistic descriptions "simple," "developed," and "ripe" can be used with certainty.

<sup>1</sup> A. K. Rhomaios, *Praktika*, 1931, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> II, 1, 5. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 300.

## Grave

The small cist grave of a child is cut in hard-pan to a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m. below the level of the Geometric house-floor. It is an irregular rectangle, oriented approximately southeast to northwest, measuring 1.00 m.  $\times$  0.40 m. (Fig. 10). The filling over the grave was disturbed. It contained a little burned matter to the east of the head just outside the grave.

The skeleton was lying on its back with the head at the east on a lower level than the feet. The badly preserved bones are those of a child of about 4 to 6 years old.<sup>1</sup> By the head lay two small sea-shells, such as have been found in Rhodian graves.<sup>2</sup> At the left side of the child lay the bones of a small animal, probably a pig.

The position of the miniature vases in the grave may be seen on the plan (Fig. 10). The clay is reddish buff, the glaze a lustrous black.



Fig. 10. Child's Grave of the Geometric Period

1. (P 730) Fig. 11

Oinochoe with a trefoil mouth, decorated in a reserved zone on the shoulder with diminishing triangles and a star; bars on the handle. H. 0.092 m.; d. 0.045 m.; base d. 0.03 m. The slender shape is unusual and apparently early.

2. (P 731) Fig. 11

Kylix with a low conical foot and offset rim decorated with reserved lines; bars on the handles. H. 0.055 m.; d. of rim 0.073 m.; d. of base 0.037 m. The fabric, foot, and decoration are related to those of the Protogeometric style (cf. *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 1, pl. I, No. 10, p. 1).

3. (P 732) Fig. 11

Squat oinochoe with a trefoil mouth and a reserved panel on the neck decorated with a maeander; bars on the handle. H. 0.107 m.; d. 0.073 m. Pale cream-colored clay, which is found in other Attic Geometric vases. A simple example of the type of oinochoe common in the Isis grave at Eleusis (*C.V.A.*, Athens, I, III H.d. pl. 3, Nos. 8 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Professor Koumaris of the University of Athens kindly examined the bones for me.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia*, Berlin, 1914, p. 160. They have been frequently found in graves at Corinth, see *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 426.



## 4. (P 733) Fig. 11

Oinochoe with trefoil mouth, decorated with three reserved lines, and bars on the handle. H. 0.089 m.; d. 0.069 m. Similar pieces seem to be later than this example (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 2, No. 10; *C.V.A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, II F, pl. 1, No. 3).

## 5. (P 734) Fig. 11

Conical base with a moulding at the top, decorated with three reserved lines at the bottom. H. 0.058 m.; d. 0.12 m. Probably from a deep Protogeometric bowl. No other fragments of this vase were found in or near the grave. Presumably this base was re-used as a cup or lid. Examples of such re-used fragments are not infrequent in Geometric graves (*Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 107; *ibid.*, 1911, p. 248).



Fig. 11. Vases from the Child's Grave

## 6. (T 260) Fig. 11

Fragmentary handle in the shape of a leg, with a reserved square at the ankle in front. H. 0.073 m.; L. of foot 0.047 m. The leg is broken at the top just as it bends back. It seems to be the handle of a kylix, like the more elaborate example in the Berlin Museum (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, No. 2). It has been suggested that the pair of clay boots that was placed in a grave in Eleusis had the magical purpose of providing the dead with adequate foot-gear for his journey.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 104, and note 1; pl. 4, No. 4. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.

This idea certainly existed in ancient Egypt and apparently it was the custom not long ago in modern Greece to dress the dead in a pair of new shoes. The fact that the broken handle alone was put in the grave may mean that some such idea was in the mind of the donor.

#### 7. (P 735) Fig. 24

Fragmentary hand-made bowl decorated with incised herring-bone pattern round the rim and zigzags and circles below; two holes at the rim. Estimated d. 0.11 m. Soft gray clay red at the core, slightly polished. Hand-made by pressing into a rough mould.<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of this ware see below, p. 564.

This type of cist grave for a child, with burning around but not in the grave, occurs at Eleusis.<sup>2</sup> The depth of these graves is usually 1.00 m. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this grave was sunk in the floor of the house at a depth of only 0.20 m. when common usage and sense would dictate a greater depth. It is also worthy of remark that the graves apparently in the floors of Middle Helladic houses at Eutresis were found on careful study to have been sunk from higher levels.<sup>3</sup> No other undisturbed grave was found in this immediate area, though there is evidence of two disturbed graves within the house limits (see below, p. 561). But on this slope of the Areiopagos near-by several other graves came to light.<sup>4</sup> These are consistently either Protogeometric amphora burials or Geometric cist graves, usually showing traces of burning. In addition, small areas were found among the graves where burned offerings had been made and the vases discarded. Very possibly they indicate a cult of the dead (see below, p. 636). All of this funerary pottery is in the simple style. Such "Acropolis ware" is usually considered the earliest Geometric<sup>5</sup> and nothing in our excavation contradicts this theory. Since the pottery that was found under the floor of the house appears to be slightly later than that from the graves, and since it is unlikely that the cemetery is later than the house, we may suppose that the town spread gradually down the slopes of the Acropolis and Areiopagos. Houses were also built over the cemetery at Eleusis.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Pottery from the House

The pottery from the filling over and on the floor of the house at both ends was mixed. The latest material is Attic and Corinthian of the early sixth century. But the sherds from within the floor and under it in undisturbed places can safely be taken as evidence for the date of latest habitation. Since this pottery forms a definite group and is unique in being the only Geometric pottery hitherto found in a dwelling, it is described in full. Unless otherwise stated, the clay is buff and the paint black to brown or reddish.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Persson for the description of this technique.

<sup>2</sup> Skias, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Goldman, *op. cit.*, p. 224 (The only two examples of burials within the house are not parallel to ours).

<sup>4</sup> See pp 468-470.

<sup>5</sup> See E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

## A. Selected sherds from within or under the house-floor

**8-20.** (P 1605-1617) Figs. 12-13

Fragments of vases of various shapes; Nos. 8-10 Protogeometric; Nos. 11-19 Simple Geometric  
No. 20 Household Ware.



Fig. 12. Sherds from within or under the Floor of the Geometric House (Nos. 8-20), and from on Top of the Floor at the Western End (Nos. 22-27)

## B. Selected pottery from on top of the floor at the western end of the house

**21.** (P 461) Fig. 14

Fragmentary oinochoe, glazed, except for two triple reserved lines round the body. From the floor 0.60 m. east of the western apsidal wall (see Fig. 2). Upper part broken off by the modern house wall which ran over it. H. 0.15 m.; d. 0.15 m.; base d. 0.079 m.

Presumably it had a high neck decorated with a maeander or zigzags in a front panel, and a trefoil mouth and a broad striped handle. Two similar examples came from another grave in the Agora (P 552-553, see p. 470). Similar pieces have also been



found elsewhere in Athens,<sup>1</sup> in Eleusis, and in Corinth. The simplicity of the shape and style has been usually considered an earmark of an early date in the Geometric period.

**22-27.** (P 1618-1623) Figs. 12-13

Fragments of vases of various shapes; No. 22 Protogeometric; Nos. 23-25 Simple Geometric; Nos. 26-27 Household Ware.

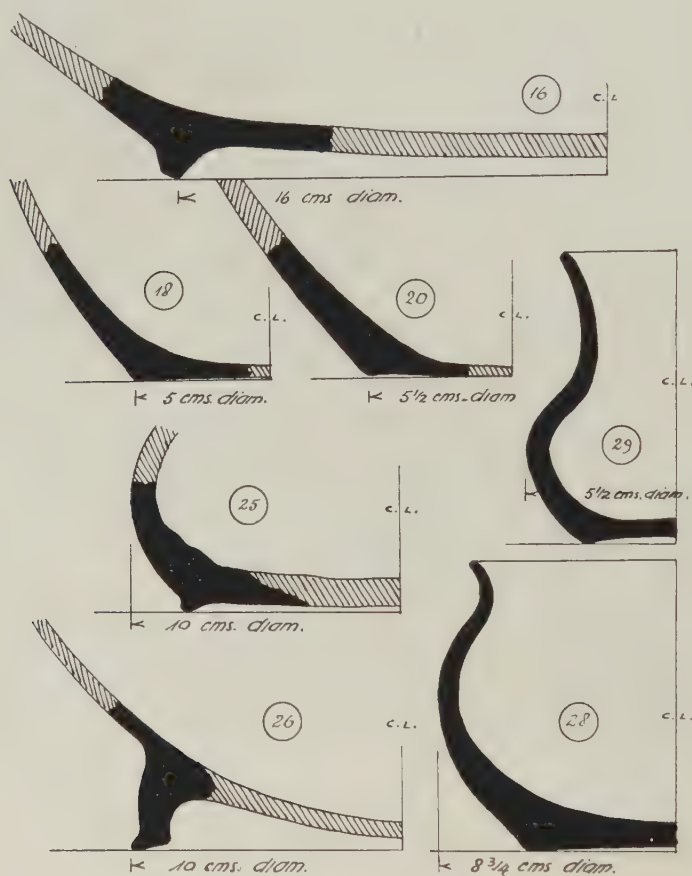


Fig. 13. Profiles of Geometric Sherds from within the House Floor (Nos. 16-26), and above it (Nos. 28-29)

C. Selected pottery from on top of the floor and platforms at the eastern end of the house

**28.** (P 586) Figs. 13 and 15

Fragmentary kylix decorated with stars in a zone between horizontal handles; row of dots inside the lip. Glazed inside with a reserved dot in the centre. H. 0.051 m.; base d. 0.054 m.; greatest d. 0.093 m. Reddish buff clay, reddish brown paint. Simple Geometric style of the type found in the Isis grave in Eleusis (*C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 6, No. 6).

<sup>1</sup> *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 2, No. 2.

**29.** (P 535) Figs. 13 and 15

Fragmentary small jug with one handle, decorated with lines and dots. H. 0.054 m.; d. 0.057 m. Simple Geometric style of a common type.

**30-36.** (P 1624-1625; P 631; P 1626-1629)  
Figs. 16, 17, 24

Fragments of vases of various shapes: No. 30 Developed style; No. 31 Simple style; No. 32 late Geometric or Proto-attic; Nos. 33-34 Developed style; Nos. 35-38 Incised Polished ware.

## The Pottery from Outside the House

The rest of the Geometric pottery was found outside the house, chiefly in the area A-C. (See above, p. 550.)

**37.** (P 532) Figs. 7 and 18

Fragmentary oinochoe, with a deeply rounded body and a slender neck. Traces of the handle behind. The bosses in front are characteristic of this type of vase.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 14. Geometric Oinochoe (No. 21) from the Floor of the House. Scale 1:2½



Fig. 15. Geometric (Nos. 28-29, 63) and Protocorinthian (Nos. 100-101) Sherds from the Filling over the House

<sup>1</sup> Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, p. 70; cf. Gotschmich, *Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst*, Prag, 1930, p. 28.



Fig. 16. Geometric and Proto-attic Sherds from the Filling over the House (Nos. 30-34) and Outside it (Nos. 38-47)

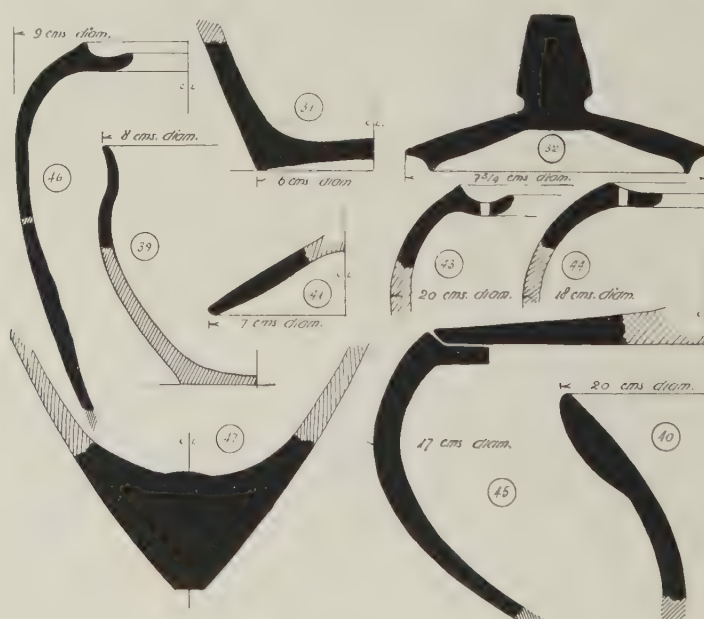


Fig. 17. Profiles of Geometric and Proto-attic Sherds from the Filling Over and Outside the House





Fig. 18. Geometric Oinochoe, No. 37, with Neck and Handle restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong

Collar: in relief and ornamented with dots.

Shoulder: Back: glazed solid. Front: three metopes; in the two outer, hatched swastikas, in the centre, four-petal ornament hatched. Oval filling ornaments surrounded by dots.

Body: three zones; in the upper, set off by lines and dots, interlocking hatched and double triangles; in the centre, a large hatched zigzag with filling ornament of dotted circles; in the lower, a row of double triangles pointed upward.

Lower part: three solid bands alternating with bands of reserved lines.



Fig. 19. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

Found standing against the west side of wall A-A, its base on a level with the bottom of the wall. Much broken at the upper part and side by the excavators of Pit F in which fragments were found (see Figs. 2, 4, and 7). H. 0.243 m.; greatest d. 0.244 m.; base d. 0.141 m. Pinkish buff clay, black glaze.

This appears to be an early example of the slender-necked type of oinochoe. A squatter one comes from a grave in Eleusis<sup>1</sup> together with other vases of a fairly developed style. The closest parallel is one from Athens in the National Museum. Its size and shape are almost identical; its style and decoration are even simpler, containing

<sup>1</sup> Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, pl. 3, 10, p. 113.

the repertory of the simple style, such as hatched triangles, interlocking tooth pattern, and small zigzags. The large hatched zigzag on the Agora piece is rather a rare motive in Attica, although common in the Argolid.<sup>1</sup> The metope designs are found in conjunction on many Attic vases of the developed style, as are also the other decorative elements. This oinochoe, then, appears to fall in the mid-Geometric period, certainly before the most advanced and elaborate Dipylon vases.

**38-40.** (P 1630-1632) Figs. 16-17

Fragments of vases of various shapes; No. 38 Protogeometric; No. 39 Simple style; No. 40 late Geometric or Proto-attic.

Fragments of pyxides and their lids, of simple style, such as have been found before on the Acropolis,<sup>2</sup> were in part burned, a sign that they come from graves. Many were found in the region of the preserved grave, by Pits A, B, and F in deep holes filled with classical sherds. Presumably, then, there were other graves here, rifled in much later times. They probably formed a part of the cemetery which apparently lay in that region before the house was built. Since also one similar fragment (No. 16) comes from the floor of the house, it seems evident that the graves were earlier than the house. For the types of vases, cf. *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI; *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 1, No. 8; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIII, 1918, pl. I, No. 6.

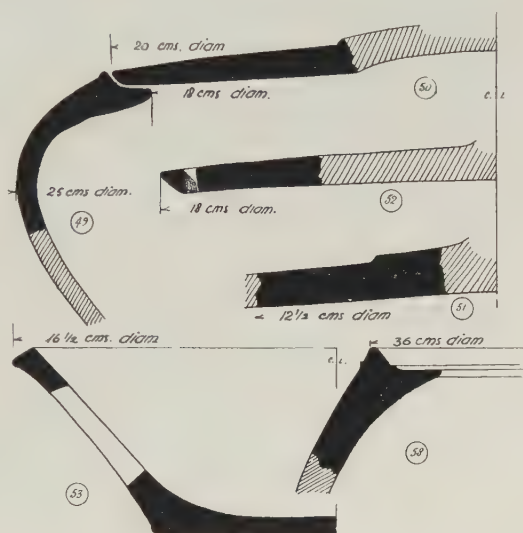


Fig. 20. Profiles of Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

**41-52.** (P 1633-1644) Figs. 16-17, 19-20

Fragments from pyxides and lids of Simple and Developed style.

**53-54.** (P 1645-1646) Figs. 19-20

Fragments from openwork kalathoi of Simple style. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 6, Nos. 10-11.

**55-62.** (P 1647-1654) Figs. 19-20

Fragments of various shapes; Simple and Developed styles.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Eleusis Museum No. 639, with rosette filling ornaments.

<sup>2</sup> *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III Hd, pl. 1, No. 8.



**63.** (P 913) Fig. 15

Fragmentary cup, glazed inside and out, with bars on the handles and a reserved line round the rim. From a disturbed filling. H. 0.066 m.; d. at mouth 0.092 m. A rather high example of a type common throughout the Geometric period. One was found in a grave in the Agora with vases of the Simple style. (Cf. *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 58, fig. 4; *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, Nos. 10, 11; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, pp. 115 ff., figs. 24–25; Beilage XII, Nos. 1, 3.)

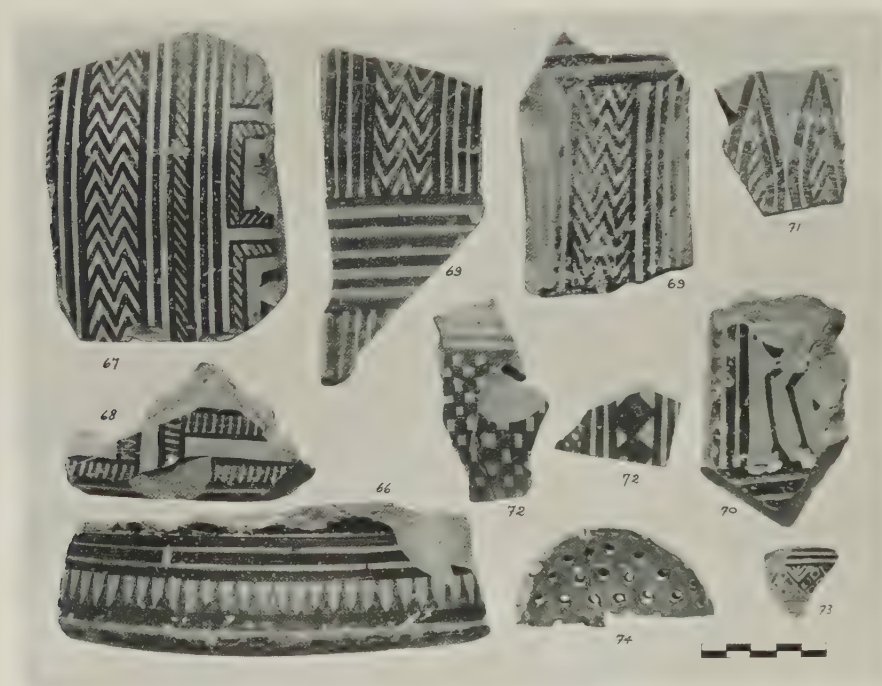


Fig. 21. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

**64.** (P 1655) Figs. 19 and 22

Fragmentary cup, glazed inside and out, with offset rim decorated with lines inside; stripes on the rim and three white lines round the body. From above the floor of the house, east end. Red glaze. Fragment with handle. H. 0.044 m.; W. 0.059 m. A more advanced example like No. 63. The red glaze and white paint are both late.

**65.** (P 1656) Figs. 19 and 22

Similar cup, fragmentary, decorated with lines inside the rim and a reserved band round the body. From the region near the grave. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.073 m. Fragments from many more similar cups were found.

**66-72.** (P 1657–1663) Figs. 21–22

Fragments from large vases of Developed and Ripe "Dipylon" style.

Fragments of various shapes; Ripe and Degenerate style.

Fragment from a Corinthian late Geometric pyxis with lattice triangle, butterfly ornament in metopes, and lines below; glazed inside. From a disturbed filling south of the late conglomerate wall. H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.059 m.; T. 0.004 m. Fine Corinthian clay with black glaze outside and red lustrous glaze inside. An interesting instance of the importation of Geometric ware from one place to another. For the close relations between Athens and Corinth in the seventh century, see below, p. 634.

The two very fragmentary graffiti on Geometric sherds are especially interesting in connection with those on the Attic vases from Hymettos excavated by the American School in 1924. The context in which our sherds were found indicates a date not later than *ca.* 640 B.C. But since the inscriptions are on Geometric sherds, they may well be far earlier. Unfortunately, the letter forms are not peculiar in any way nor does the famous oinochoe offer the same letters for comparison.<sup>1</sup> The presence of graffiti suggests that some of the Geometric pottery is of votive character—a point which will be considered in relation to the later votive deposit (see below, p. 636):

Fragment from a small kylix, glazed inside and out, with a graffito. From between walls A-A and D-D, lower deposit. Greatest dimension 0.027 m. After the vase was made, two letters, B and I, were incised, retrograde. The short stroke at the extreme right side is not so deep as those of the other letters and is hard to restore. It may be merely a scratch. The straight I is noteworthy.

Fragment from a large closed vase, glazed outside, with a graffito. Same provenience as No. 81, near wall A-A. Greatest dimension 0.028 m. The letter, incised after firing, appears to be M.

38

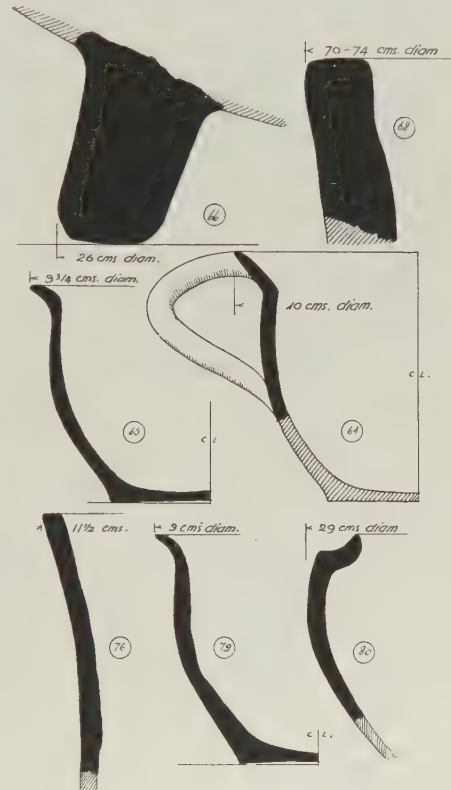


Fig. 22. Profiles of Geometric Sherds  
from Outside the House

In addition to sherds, the filling contained many disks which were cut from Geometric pottery. These will be discussed later in relation to the votive deposit with which they were found. The following disks show patterns: Nos. 257-263, all from large vases of ripe Dipylon style. Many of those with stripes may also be Geometric. Those from coarse wares are less certain.



Fig. 23. Geometric Sherds from Outside the House

#### Incised Polished Ware

Along with the Geometric and Proto-attic pottery also appeared a certain amount of the hand-made polished ware with incisions which we have already noted from the grave and the house-floor (see above, pp. 554, 557). To judge from its presence in graves in Eleusis this ware appears to be contemporary with fairly early Geometric, though it shows clear relations with mainland prehistoric ware.<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence for the

<sup>1</sup> Skias, *op. cit.*, pl. 2, Nos. 14, 15; *Arch. Eph.*, 1912, p. 35; fig. 15, No. 2. Cf. S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 394, pl. XV, 2, 3.



length of its duration. The following selected examples from disturbed areas, chiefly near the grave, may be offered as representative in shape and design. The clay is yellow, soft, and lightly polished; occasionally it varies to gray from different firing. Some traces remain of a thick white filling in the incised decorations. The shapes are shallow bowls, pointed pyxides, and tripods, always small.



Fig. 24. Hand-made incised Geometric Ware

**83-93.** (P 642; P 1669-1678) Figs. 24-25

Fragments of various shapes: Nos. **83 87** Bowls; Nos. **88 93** Tripods or pointed Pyxides.

Small terracotta balls, usually not bored, with painted ornamentation have been found in Geometric graves at Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> Skias interprets them as weights for nets, which seem scarcely suitable for the women's graves in which they were found. Persson, in discussing similar balls with inscriptions from Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> suggests that they were used as

<sup>1</sup> Skias, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 107, Isis grave.

<sup>2</sup> "Some Inscribed Terracotta Balls from Enkomi," *Symbolae Philologicae, O. A. Danielsson Octogenario Dicatae*, Upsaliae, 1932, pp. 269 ff.

weights for measuring fine shreds of metal for currency. In technique the nearest parallels are from Troy, but these are bored vertically and seem to have been used as whorls.<sup>1</sup> It seems unlikely that our irregular balls could have been used as any exact weights. More probably they had some simple household use.

94. (T 185) Fig. 24

Terracotta ball decorated with a zone of zigzags with four lines, bordered by dots and four rows of dots radiating to meet it above and below. From Pit F. d. ca. 0.041 m. Pierced horizontally near the top. White filling preserved; traces of blue paint on one side(?).

95. (T 236) Fig. 24

Half a similar ball decorated with a zone of circles and dots, radiating lines above and below. From the filling just over the house. d. ca. 0.038 m. Pierced horizontally near the top. White filling preserved; traces of red paint(?).

96. (T 274) Fig. 24

Spindle whorl decorated with vertical panels of alternate herring-bone pattern and circles surrounded by serpentine dotted lines insidediamonds; row of dots at the bottom. From the region by the grave. H. 0.029 m.; d. at bottom 0.03 m. Clay buff but much burned. White filling preserved. Probably made by the potter of No. 83 (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 115, whorls with impressed stars).

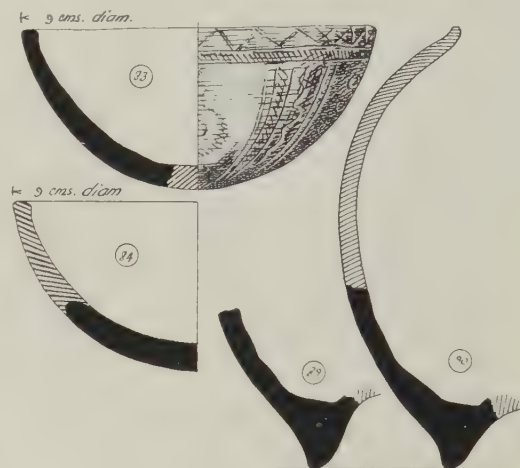


Fig. 25. Profiles of Hand-made Incised Geometric Ware. Scale 1:2

Now that we have surveyed this Geometric pottery, we must consider the problem of its absolute dating. The stylistic sequence as shown in the sherds from the graves, the house-floor, and the upper filling is that worked out by Poulsen.<sup>2</sup> The earlier wares resemble those from the Acropolis slope and Eleusis and the later those from the Dipylon. Protocorinthian was found only with the more developed style.

If we employ the chronology for Geometric that is accepted by most scholars, we must date the grave in the house early in the ninth century and those outside it only a little later. To judge by the sherds from the floor, the house itself cannot have been built before the middle of the ninth century. The date of its latest occupation is indicated by two vases: one (No. 21) found upon its floor, the other (No. 37) against a wall that must have been built later than the house (see above, p. 547). The fragmentary condition and the simple style of the former prevent us from classifying it strictly, but the type

<sup>1</sup> H. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, Berlin, 1902, p. 205, Nos. 4156-4162.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.; Pfuhl, I, pp. 67 ff.

is generally considered early. The style of the latter is pre-Dipylon and would usually be dated about the beginning of the eighth century. Now, its position against the wall A-A (Fig. 7) and above the level of the apsidal wall makes this vase obviously later than the building of the house. Moreover, the position and preservation of both these vases indicate that they were left on the house-floors at the time of latest habitation. But upon the fallen walls of these houses and in part upon the floors, with no intervening

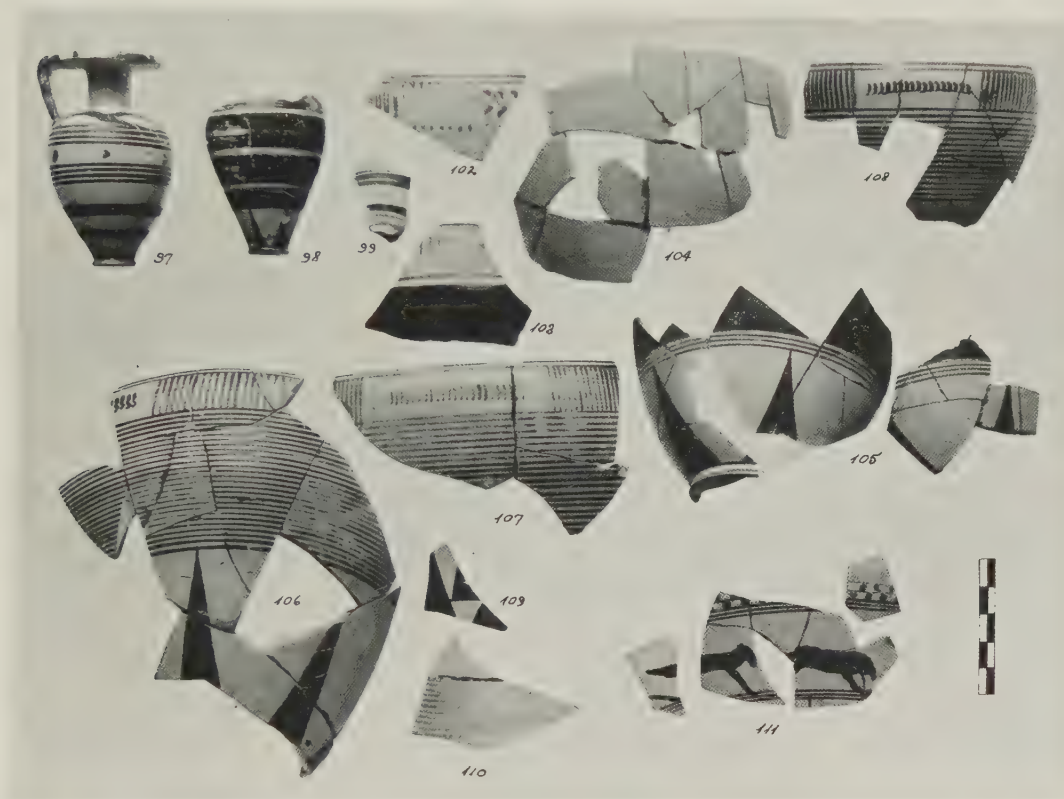


Fig. 26. Protocorinthian Pottery from the Upper Deposit

filling whatsoever, lay late Dipylon, Protocorinthian, and Proto-attic—that is, wares usually assigned to the late eighth century at least. This seems to give us a period of nearly one hundred years between the desertion of the house and its final destruction. Possibly our previous dating of Geometric has been too generous or possibly chronology based on stylistic arguments cannot be trusted. The sequence of styles in our deposit, however, follows the assumed order. We are forced to the conclusion that our absolute chronology for these styles is erroneous. It is to be hoped that further excavations will offer stratified evidence for the solution of this perplexing problem.



## PROTOCOLINTHIAN

Throughout the upper deposit Protocorinthian ware was found in some quantity. Since in general it can be dated to the first half of the seventh century, with only a few pieces as late as 640 B.C., it offers the most stable chronological evidence for dating that deposit. The East Greek bowl (No. **125**) also belongs to the same period.

Two classes of Protocorinthian ware are evident: a thin, fine fabric of Corinthian clay and a thicker, cruder fabric of reddish clay such as has been found in Phaleron and in Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> This was presumably a local imitation. Unless otherwise noted, the most interesting examples of Protocorinthian which are listed are from the upper deposit, found together with Proto-attic. A curious piece (No. **338**) was found in the excavations of 1933.

## Pointed Aryballoi

**97.** (P 578) Fig. 26

Complete. On the shoulder, two coursing hounds; dots round the lip, rim, and body; below: broad and narrow bands; ribbon handle with a wavy line. From the votive deposit, centre, together with Nos. **98**, **133**, **200–201**, **304 B**, **329** (see Fig. 2). H. 0.07 m.; d. 0.041 m.; rim d. 0.034 m. The single row of hounds on the shoulder is rare. The shape and type belong to Johansen's archaic style, type B, dating in the middle of the seventh century or a little after it.

**98.** (P 577) Fig. 26

Top missing. Broad black bands with applied narrow red lines; rays at the bottom. Found with No. **97**. H. 0.053 m.; d. of base 0.014 m. Date *ca.* 650–640 B.C. (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 19; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, III c, pl. I, No. 35; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, p. 355, fig. 463).

**99.** (P 1679) Fig. 26

Lower part; decorated with red bands. H. 0.029 m.; W. 0.02 m. The type is like that of Nos. **97–98**.

## Oinochoai

**100.** (P 841) Fig. 15

Fragmentary upper part. Shoulder, neck, and trefoil mouth glazed red outside; two narrow white bands around the neck, diamonds in creamy white on either side of the front lip. H. 0.062 m.; W. 0.115 m. Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 32; fig. 10 c, for the proportions, but the neck curves, a "Post-Transitional" characteristic. Cf. pl. 11, 3 "Transitional." But the glazed body seems to be Protocorinthian. Date *ca.* 650 B.C. (?)

**101.** (P 871) Fig. 15

Neck and part of a trefoil mouth. Decorated in red with fine horizontal lines and with a zone of vertical lines and butterfly-pattern and lattice lozenges in front; rays at the base of the neck; a band inside the mouth. From near wall A–A to south of the house, H. 0.085 m.; d. 0.085 m. (cf. Johansen, p. 20, pl. VII, 2, from Cumae. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, 1933, pl. 4, 1, considers this example as Cumaeian, of the late Geometric period. The technique of our piece is certainly Protocorinthian and the rays indicate that it is to be dated in the seventh century; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 12, and *Necrocorinthia*, p. 13, fig. 6. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 369, fig. 485).

<sup>1</sup> Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, Copenhagen, 1923, pp. 173 f. S. Pelekides, *Arch. Delt.*, II, 1916, p. 33.

**102-111.** (P 1680-1683; P 842; P 1685-1689) Fig. 26

Fragments from skyphoi; Nos. 102-104 Early and Nos. 105-111 Middle Protocorinthian period.

Many other fragments of these common skyphoi were found, which do not merit publication except the examples of Attic manufacture, Nos. 112-114 (P 1690-1692) Fig. 27.

**115-121.** (P 1693-1694; P 831; P 1695-1698) Figs. 27-28

Fragments from Pyxis lids; Nos. 115-120 may be dated in the mid-seventh century. No. 121 is a fragment from a pyxis.



Fig. 27. Attic (Nos. 112-114), Protocorinthian (Nos. 115-121), Corinthian (Nos. 122-124), and East Greek (No. 125) Sherds from the Upper Deposit

## CORINTHIAN

**122-124.** (P 1699-1701) Fig. 27

Fragments from vases of various shapes; Early Corinthian period. Since these came from disturbed areas, they have no bearing upon the chronology of the deposit. A few other insignificant pieces were found.

## EAST GREEK

**125.** (P 1702) Figs. 27-28

Fragment from the upper part of an incurving bowl with a slightly grooved rim, decorated with a waterbird to right in a panel with lattice-triangle above. From between walls A-A and C-C above bed-rock. H. 0.032 m.; W. 0.053 m. Light red clay with hard buff surface; glazed black inside, dilute glaze outside. An interesting importation (E. F. Price, *East Greek Pottery*,

pp. 1 f. references; cf. also *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 55, figs. 26 and 30; *ibid.*, III, p. 64, fig. 54). An example was found at Sparta with Subgeometric and Laconian I pottery, dating ca. 740–660 B.C. (*Artemis Orthia*, p. 115, fig. 85 b. Cf. also Levi, *Annuario*, X XII, 1927–1929, pp. 690 ff. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, New Haven, 1922, p. 53 and fig. 16, dates No. 65 at 700–650 B.C.)

### PROTO-ATTIC

By far the most abundant and the most unusual pottery from this area is the Proto-attic. Since little is known about the Athenian products of this period, a catalogue is given of all the characteristic pieces before the discussion of its chronology (see below, p. 635). The descriptive categories “Subgeometric,” “Early Orientalizing,” “Orientalizing,” and “Light on Dark” styles are defined below, p. 631. For the dating of the individual sherds, see the table, Fig. 91. Consult this table also for references to well known Proto-attic vases, such as the Theban krater, Analatos hydria, Burgon lebes, etc.

In technique this pottery varies considerably. Some of it is made of finely micaceous clay like Dipylon ware with a similar surface and glaze. Most of it is of inferior quality, of coarse clay with dilute glaze. Unless otherwise stated the clay may be assumed to be buff in color and the paint black to brownish varying in lustre. See also Nos. 330 ff., additional material found in the excavations of 1933.

### Large Neck Amphorae

#### 126–130. (P 1703–1707) Figs. 29–30

Amphorae of this class with a very small foot are glazed all over except for the reserved panel on the neck and sometimes bands round the body. The decoration usually consists of concentric circles between wavy lines. This class seems to be related to a more elaborate group of amphorae with decoration on the neck and with lines round the body. Examples of the latter group were found with Dipylon vases and therefore presumably it is the earlier. The simpler type with its lower neck and smaller, higher foot has been found in Rhodes, Daphne, Syracuse, many in Etruria, at Caere, and in Thera (in general, cf. *Thera*, II, pp. 188–189, Pfuhl, I, p. 127, Price, *East Greek Pottery*, p. 4, with references). The one found in Thera closely resembles the Agora examples and it was found with Subgeometric ware and with one early Orientalizing type of vase. In Attica, these amphorae are plentiful, particularly in a seventh century cemetery in Phaleron where they were used for child-burials (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, pp. 27 f., figs. 11–12; *Arch. Eph.*, 1911, p. 248, figs. 6–7). They have also been found in Eleusis and in the Kerameikos and

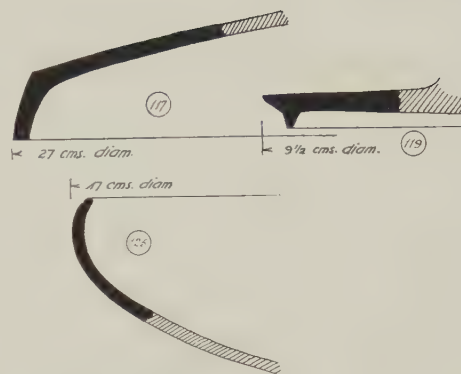


Fig. 28. Profiles of Protocorinthian (Nos. 117, 119) and East Greek (No. 125) Sherds



sherds in some numbers elsewhere in the Agora. Dragendorff denies Wide's suggestion (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, pp. 188 ff.) that they are Attic because the clay is redder and the glaze duller than those of Dipylon ware. He considers that they probably carried wine as an export from some port with wide trade relations east and west. He suggests Chalkis or the Euboean area. Pfuhl relates them to the Ionian circle. But the clay, glaze, and profile of our examples so closely resemble those of other Proto-attic sherds

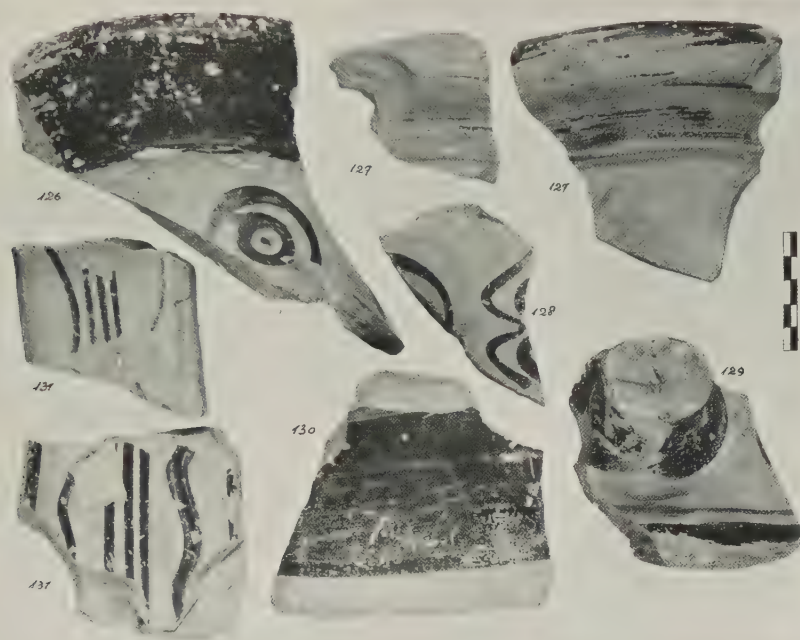


Fig. 29. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae

of the Subgeometric style that it seems highly probable that some at least were made in Athens itself. The difference in technique noted by Dragendorff is just the difference between Geometric and Proto-attic, and some of the examples certainly date well down in the seventh century. They are clearly most abundant in Attica, and are imports elsewhere even in Etruria. It is tempting to suggest that in these vases we have the first Athenian pots to be exported, doubtless filled with oil, or earlier, with wine.

**131.** (P 1708) Fig. 29

Fragments (2) from a broad handle, decorated with three stripes down the centre and wavy bands on either side. From Pit E: (a) H. 0.087 m.; W. 0.095 m. (b) H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.074 m. Brownish glaze. Apparently from the same handle, which must have tapered considerably. The lower part is even wider than that of the Athens Nessos amphora (W. 0.08 m., Pfuhl, fig. 89). The broad handle is common on large amphorae, but it usually does not taper. Subgeometric style.

This is the first instance described with that very common motive, the wavy line. Although it appears in Mycenaean and Protogeometric times, Gotschmich considers that it did not survive, but was revived during the seventh century under the new oriental influence (*Studien zur ältesten griechischen Kunst*, 1930, pp. 21 f.). It occurs in great abundance on a simple ware that is found together with seventh century decorated vases in Rhodian graves (cf. the East Greek pottery with band decoration in general, Price, *East Greek Pottery*, pp. 3 ff.).

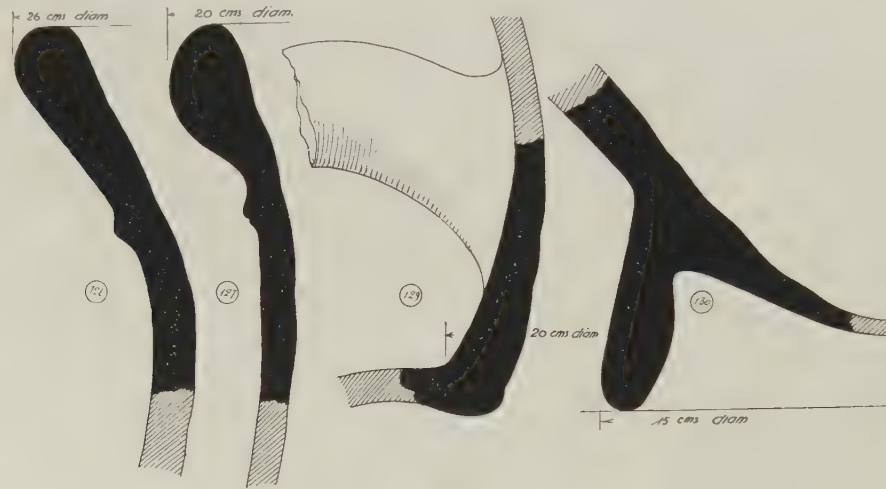


Fig. 30. Profiles of Proto-attic Amphorae. Scale 1:2

132. (P 459) Fig. 31

Lower part of a neck fragment showing the lower part of a lion walking left and the leg of another lion walking right; filling ornaments of wavy lines and a rosette with dotted petals. From above the curved wall at the west end of the house. H. 0.106 m.; W. 0.095 m.; T. 0.15 m.; estimated diameter ca. 0.11 m. Clay and glaze like those of Geometric. Inner details crudely incised.

This use of incision is unique among all the sherds of early style from this deposit. The style of the drawing of the paws and tail and the filling ornaments indicate that this example is about contemporary with the Burgon lebes (Pfuhl, fig. 82). Compare the incisions with those on a sherd from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolis-Vasen*, I, pl. 12, No. 345 A). Orientalizing style.

133. (P 576) Figs. 31–32

(A) Fragment from the neck (?) showing the upper part of the legs of two nude men back to back, part of a third figure at the right; also (B) fragment from a flat part of the vase, showing an arm on a smaller scale. From the votive deposit together with Nos. 97–98, 134, 200–201, 304 B, 329 (see Fig. 2). H. 0.115 m.; T. 0.012 m.; estimated diameter 0.31 m. Buff clay with smooth lustrous surface; drippings from a thin clay wash inside. Lustrous black paint outlines; flesh painted in

a color that had a soft purple surface when first excavated but that disappeared when the sherds were placed in water, leaving a dull reddish brown. Traces of erroneous preliminary drawing (Fig. 32) which were scratched away between the left pair of legs and erased and then covered with paint in the other cases.

The curvature of fragment A and the size of the figures in relation to the diameter suggest that it comes from the cylindrical neck of a very large amphora like that from Kynosarges (*J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, pp. 29 ff., pl. II–IV). The scale of our fragment, however, is a little larger, requiring a neck 0.40–0.45 m. high as opposed to 0.35 m. The clay and

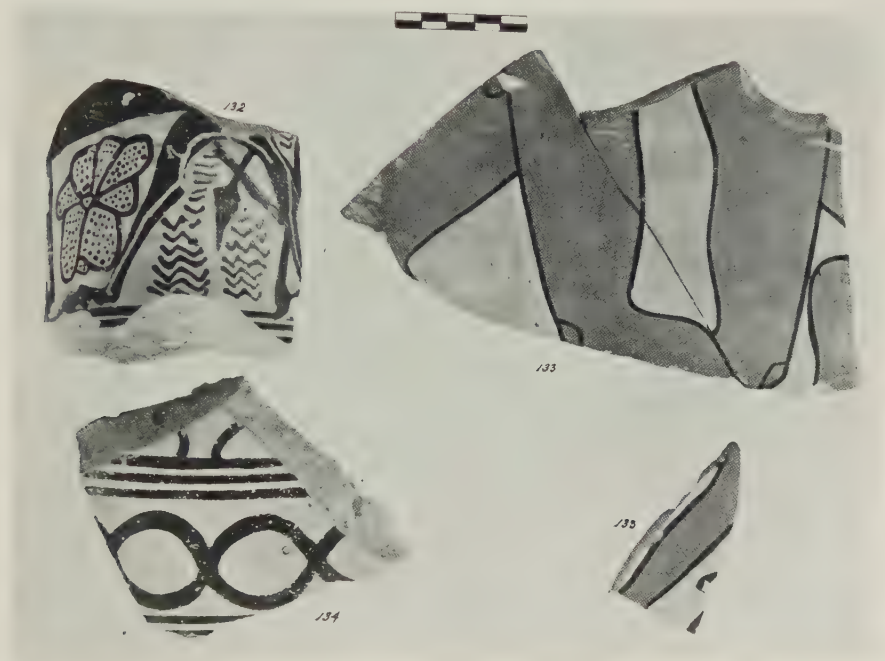


Fig. 31. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae

surface are similar to those of the Kynosarges amphora, but on that, white is used for the flesh. A dilute brown occurs on the New York Nessos amphora (*J.H.S.*, XXXII, 1912, p. 380) and on the Thermon metopes, but it is not like the color on the Agora piece.

What scene is represented is uncertain. The knees are bent in action rather than in running. The shape at the right hand corner seems to be part, possibly a shoulder, of a fallen figure. If we restore two erect figures back to back, engaged in wrestling or in fighting with two other figures which occupy a little less space, we can fill out the diameter with two panels and two ornamental handles. Or possibly two figures were fighting and one running away. Perhaps the smaller fragment, which is flat, comes from a handle.



The style of drawing has no exact parallel among Proto-attic vases; in spirit, it may be likened to that of the Praisos plate on which a hero wrestles with a monster (Pfuhl, fig. 57). The technique of our sherds resembles that of the interior of the same plate. The drawing is not much earlier than that of the Perseus of the Thermon metope, which Payne dates 650–630 B.C. (*B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132). This early attempt at the use of color, without supplementary incisions, indicates a date probably not long before the middle of the seventh century.



Fig. 32. Proto-attic Sherd, No. 133, showing Preliminary Sketch. From a Water-color by P. de Jong

**134.** (P 1709) Fig. 31

Fragment from the shoulder, decorated with a zone of chain pattern between lines. Found with No. 133. H. 0.10 m.; W. 0.13 m.; T. 0.014 m. Clay similar to that of No. 133 but redder; same drippings of a clay slip inside; surface damaged; black lustrous glaze. Possibly from the lower shoulder of the same vase as No. 133. Cf. the more complicated braid on the New York Nessos amphora. Orientalizing style.

Smaller Amphorae or Hydriai

These familiar shapes show connections with Geometric rather than with later hydriai.

## 135. (P 1710) Figs. 33–34

Rim fragment decorated with a snake in relief covered with white dots; zigzags on the neck below. From Area A–C. H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.135 m.; estimated diameter *ca.* 0.15 m. Technique similar to Geometric. From a hydria such as that from Analatos (Pfuhl, fig. 79). Cf. Berlin No. 31312, Neugebauer, *Vasenführer*, pl. 7. For the snake in relief on vases, see Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst*, 1913, pp. 35 ff., 50. Early Proto-attic, possibly of the late eighth century. Subgeometric style.



Fig. 33. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae and Hydriai

## 136. (P 1711) Figs. 33–34

(A) Fragment from the base of the neck, with snake in relief on the shoulder; panels on the neck decorated with a small palmette. From the surface filling. H. 0.048 m.; W. 0.121 m. Dilute red glaze. From a hydria like No. 135, or possibly from an oinochoe.

(B) Four fragments from the body, decorated with curling tendrils ending in palmettes. The largest shows two lines at the bottom. From beside wall A A. H. of the largest fragment 0.085 m.; W. 0.122 m. Presumably these fragments came from a zone of the vase as on the Analatos hydria (Fig. 91). Very early Orientalizing style.

## Amphorae

The type of amphora in which the neck slopes gradually into the body is unknown in Geometric times. It appears, however, frequently in this deposit, with a rim of simple rounded profile.

**137.** (P 641) Figs. 33-34

Fragment from the rim, neck, and upper part, glazed outside and decorated with an octopus in thinned yellow clay; glazed band inside. From Pit E. H. 0.125 m.; T. 0.013 m.; W. 0.09 m. Glaze varies from red to black. A most unusual piece (cf. Nos. 188, 266-267). Elsewhere, the octopus occurs on only one Proto-attic sherd known to me (Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vasen*, p. 37, No. 365) and on two Early Corinthian (Payne, *Necrocor.*, Nos. 540, 629). Miss Lucy Talcott kindly informs me that she saw a similar fragment in the Delos Museum. Light on Dark style, probably to be dated in the last half of the seventh century.



Fig. 34. Profiles of Proto-attic Amphorae, Hydriai, and of a Krater. Scale 1:2

**138.** (P 1712) Figs. 33-34

Similar fragment, with glazed rim and glazed band around the neck. From Area A-C. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.101 m. Subgeometric style.

**139.** (P 1713) Figs. 33-34

Similar fragment, with rim glazed red and two wavy red lines around the neck. From Area A-C. H. 0.066 m.; W. 0.082 m. The sandy clay and dull paint of Nos. 138-139 are like those of Miss Price's *East Greek Pottery*, class II A, p. 3 (cf. *Jahrb.*, I, 1886, p. 149, No. 2938; Pfuhl, pp. 137, 193). Subgeometric style. Numerous examples of this class were found.

**140 141.** (P 1714-1715) Figs. 35-36

Fragments from rims.

## Kraters and Open Vessels

Kraters on high pierced stands were very popular during the seventh century. They appear to be descendants of the Geometric types, but vary considerably in shape. Only



enough was preserved in this deposit for a conjectural restoration. Nilsson considers that they may have been used as cauldrons for heating water in the hero-cult (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 526; see below, p. 637). Some of these sherds may come from the type of bowl with a foot that is often called a lebes (e.g. the Burgon lebes).



Fig. 35. Sherds from Proto-attic Amphorae and Kraters

**142.** (P 1716) Figs. 35–36

Fragment from the upper part with incurving rim, decorated with bands and a running dog on the handle, which has projecting ends. From the surface filling. H. 0.062 m.; W. 0.09 m. Glaze red; unglazed inside. The type of handle, which may be called "crescent," is very common at this period. Early Orientalizing(?) style.

**143.** (P 474) Figs. 35–36

Fragment from the upper part, decorated with step pattern outside the flaring rim and a row of large dots bordered by lines inside, and a panel of diamond and volutes between geometric borders; lines below. From the surface filling. H. 0.092 m.; W. 0.11 m.; glazed inside. Orientalizing style.

**144.** (P 873) Figs. 34–35

(A) Fragment of the rim and side, decorated with vertical panels of hatching and zigzags and a guilloche; bars on the flat rim. From the filling under the late conglomerate wall and over the terrace-wall B B. H. 0.10 m.; W. 0.037 m.; T. 0.014 m. Smooth surface; white used as an accessory laid directly on the clay of one half the guilloche as on the N. Y. Nessos amphora (Fig. 91). It is another Eastern motive (cf. No. 338 and Poulsen, *Der Orient*, p. 14, fig. 9).

(B) Fragment from bowl and stand (?) decorated with checker-board pattern on the flaring upper part and with female face to right with wavy lines as filling ornaments. Same provenience. H. 0.066 m.; W. 0.056 m.; T. 0.011 m. Glazed inside. The peculiar shape does not seem reconcilable with the steep bowl of the other fragment, but the sherds certainly seem to belong to one vase. Cf. the head on a fragment in the Aegina Museum. Early Orientalizing style.

**145.** (P 460) Figs. 35 and 37

Fragments from a large vase on a stand, probably open, but unpainted inside. Preserved: three fragmentary panels from the stand, decorated with palmettes and semicircles; three fragments with rays; seven fragments from the upper part decorated with palmettes pendent between volutes with triangles above. From the surface filling. Upper panel: H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.07 m.; lower: H. 0.056 m.; W. 0.058 m. Other fragments all small. Estimated diameter of mouth 0.50 m.

A restoration is offered. The angles at the rays and at the palmette design above make the kalyx shape seem the most probable. This must have been a very fine vase of the early Orientalizing style, probably of the early seventh century. For the palmette motive cf. No. 213 and *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, 1, p. 4, fig. 1.

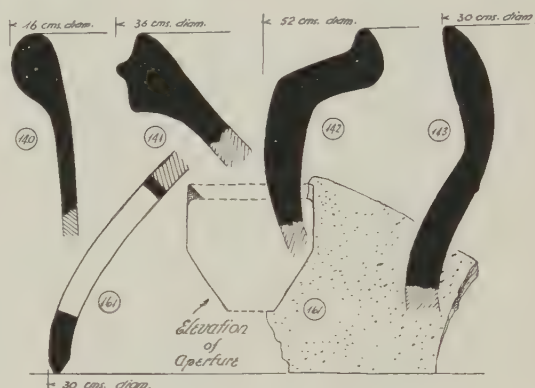


Fig. 36. Profiles of a Proto-attic Amphora, Kraters and a Lid. Scale 1:2

**146.** (P 1717) Figs. 35 and 38

Similar fragment, but probably not from the same vase as No. 145. A zone above showing the start of a ray or of a spiral-hook; a zone below decorated with a palmette between large dotted leaves. From between walls A-A and C C above bed-rock. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.058 m. The palmette motive is a refinement on the clumsy trefoil ornaments of dotted leaves on the New York Nessos amphora (Fig. 91). The drawing is firmer than that on most of our Proto-attic sherds (cf. *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 199, fig. 6). Orientalizing style.

**147–152.** (P 1717; P 442; P 1718–1722) Figs. 39–40

Fragments from a stand, from bases, and rims; Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

**153.** (P 1723) Figs. 39–40

Fragment from the upper part with a moulded rim and raised ridge running round the vase by the handle with a vertical ridge beside the handle. From the surface filling. H. 0.098 m.; W. 0.11 m. An unusual piece of which the rim seems to indicate a date possibly in the seventh century, more probably in the sixth. Cf. Schmidt, *Trojanische Altertümer*, p. 181, No. 3661.

## 154. (P 1724) Figs. 39-40

Fragment from a large vessel decorated with a band under the straight rim and chain-pattern below. From a Pit. H. 0.076 m.; W. 0.115 m. Hand-made and uneven; the side wall is straight, curving inward at one end and swelling below. From a circular vessel pulled out to a spout? For the design cf. No. 134. Early Orientalizing style.

## 155. (P 843) Figs. 39-40

Leg of a small tripod with part of the bowl preserved, decorated with a long-necked bird doubled up to fit the space. From Area A C. H. 0.15 m.; W. 0.029 m.; T. 0.013 m. Not glazed inside. An unusual reproduction in clay of the common small bronze votive tripod. For the style cf. *Arch. Eph.*, 1911, p. 250, fig. 14. Orientalizing style.

## Miscellaneous Fragments from Large Vases

## Lids

## 156. (P 1725) Figs. 40-41

Fragment showing above: a bird's foot and uncertain filling ornaments, and below: a zone of diminishing triangles between lines. From the votive deposit. H. 0.088 m.; W. 0.145 m.; estimated diameter 0.36 m. Smooth buff surface; dull red paint. Slight traces of burning. Probably from a large amphora. Early Orientalizing style.

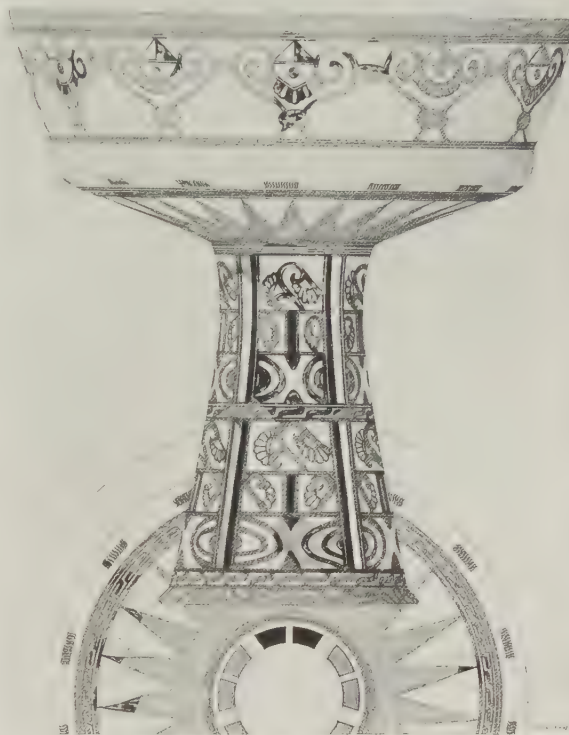


Fig. 37. Restoration of a Proto-attic Krater, No. 145. From a Drawing by P. de Jong. Scale ca. 1:7

## 157. (P 1726) Figs. 40-41

Similar fragment with down-turned lip, decorated with a guilloche on the rim and with a zone showing an animal walking right; between its forelegs a bird with its head bent back; zigzags as filling ornaments. From beside wall A-A. H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.074 m. Red glaze; traces of burning. From a krater? For the guilloche, cf. No. 144. Early Orientalizing style.

## 158. (P 840) Figs. 40-41

Two fragments from a similar lid decorated with a zone of feeding water birds moving right, with tooth-pattern between lines at the rim. From Area A-C. D. 0.072 m.; W. 0.052 m. H. of small fragment 0.032 m. Black glaze with bodies fired red. Traces of burning. For pecking birds cf. No. 199, the New York Nessos amphora and von Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. IX, 1, on a Phaleron jug; an unknown motive in Corinth (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 76 f., note). It comes apparently from Ionia (cf. Pfuhl, fig. 144).



**159-160.** (P 1727-1728) Figs. 40-41

Fragments from lids; Subgeometric style.

**161.** (P 1729) Figs. 36 and 41

Fragment of a convex lid with an opening (for the insertion of a spoon?), decorated with bands and zigzags. Glazed inside with bands. From Area A-C. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.057 m. Possibly from a bowl, but in that case the opening cannot be explained. Subgeometric style.

## Miscellaneous Large Fragments

**162.** (P 1730) Figs. 41-42

Fragment from the neck of a hydria (?) decorated with a zone of dancing figures holding hands with branches in them; below, a chain pattern with spiral-hooks. From Area A-C, lower deposit. H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.042 m. Glaze almost entirely peeled off. Cf. the neck of the Analatos hydria which may be by the same hand; cf. Berlin No. 31312; Neugebauer, *Vasenführer*, pl. 7; Waldstein, *Arg. Her.*, II, pl. LVII, 15-19. Early Orientalizing style.



Fig. 38. Proto-attic Sherd, No. 143. From a Drawing by P. de Jong. Full size

**163-167.** (P 1721-1735) Figs. 41 and 43

Fragments of the Orientalizing style showing designs with animals.

**168.** (P 1736) Fig. 43

Fragment from the shoulder of a sizable vase, glazed outside, showing part of an octopus in thinned yellow clay. From the surface filling. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.09 m. (cf. No. 137). Light on Dark style. Date, last half of the seventh century?

**169.** (P 1737) Fig. 43

(A) Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora (?), decorated with curling tendrils ending in palmettes. From Area A-C, lower deposit. H. 0.077 m.; W. 0.07 m.

(B) Fragment from the body below A, decorated with a palmette above and step-pattern in a zone below. Same provenience, a little lower. H. 0.098 m.; W. 0.07 m. Orientalizing style.

**170.** (P 1738) Figs. 43-44

Rim fragment from a small amphora (?) decorated with bars on the lip and a chain-pattern with spiral-hooks below. From the votive deposit. H. 0.037 m.; W. 0.057 m. Red glaze. Cf. *C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 2, III Hb, pl. 4; 3, and Analatos hydria. Subgeometric style.



Fig. 39. Sherds from Proto-attic Kraters and a Tripod

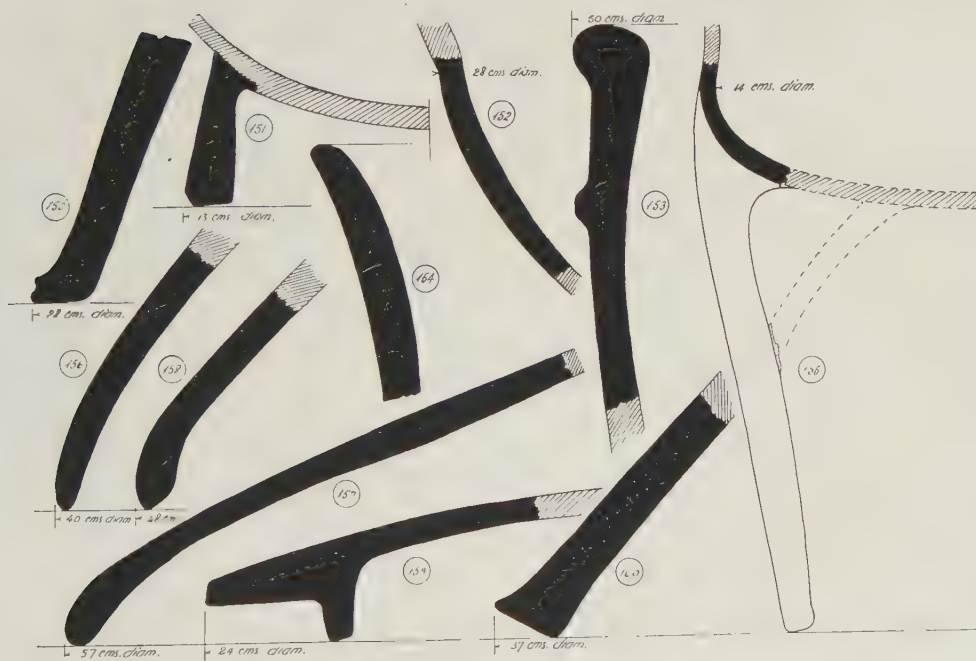


Fig. 40. Profiles of Proto-attic Kraters, a Tripod, and Lids. Scale 1:2



Fig. 41. Sherds from Proto-attic Lids and Miscellaneous Vases

171. (P 1739) Fig. 43

Fragment from the neck of an amphora (?) decorated with a water bird right, and beyond, the wings of an animal (another water bird?) decorated with purple paint and incisions; a solid circle surrounded by dots as a filling ornament. From the surface filling. H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.095 m. Light red clay; lustrous black glaze with purple applied on it (cf. for the wings, Benndorf, *Gr. u. sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. LIV, 1). It is one of the latest Proto-attic sherds from this area, dating probably *ca.* 630–620 B.C.

Bowls and Dishes

Deep bowls and small shallow dishes decorated with simple lines, bands, or wavy lines are most abundant in this deposit. They are clearly the descendants of the Geometric bowls with loop handles ending in projecting tips (*C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, III Hb, pl. 2, Nos. 4, 5). They have also contemporary parallels from Boeotia, Crete, and the islands (cf. Pfuhl, fig. 96; Levi, *Annuario*, X–XII, 1927–1929, pp. 328 f., figs. 426–427). Simple



Fig. 42. Fragment from a Hydria, No. 162. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale 1:2





Fig. 13. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds



Fig. 14. Sherds from a Proto-attic Amphora and Bowls. Scale 1:2

and small examples like those from the Agora were found also at Phaleron and Eleusis and one, very possibly an Attic importation, was found in Rhodes (Kinch, *Vroulia*, p. 106, pl. 21, 4). An excellent example comes from the excavations of 1933 (No. 336).

**172-182.** (P 856; P 1740-1750) Figs. 43-45

Fragments from bowls. Nos. 172-173 Light on Dark style; Nos. 174-177 Subgeometric; Nos. 178-182 Early Orientalizing.

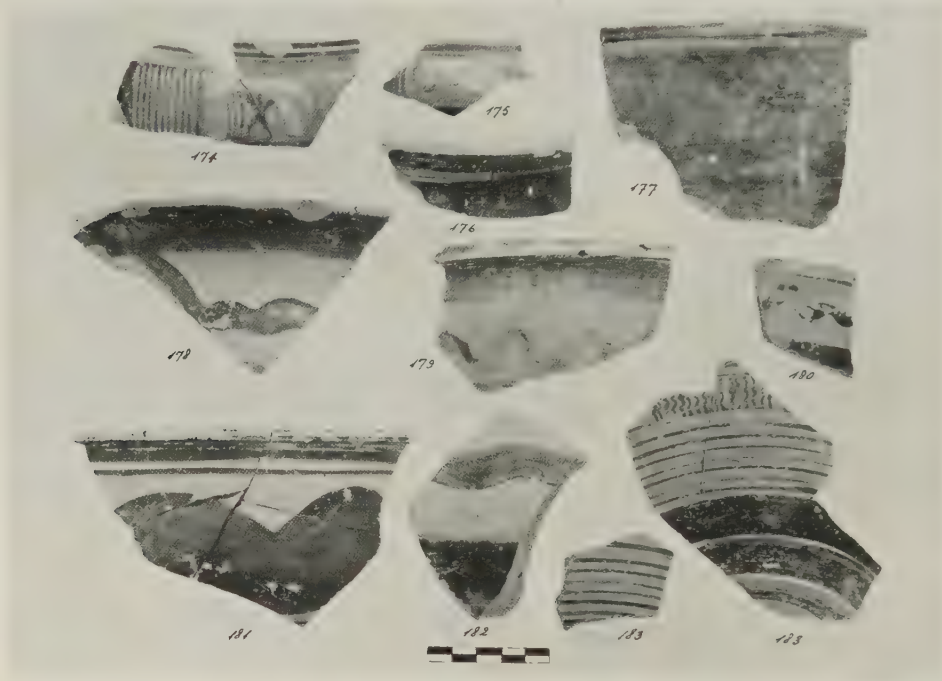


Fig. 45. Sherds from Proto-Attic Bowls

**183.** (P 1750) Figs. 45-46

Fragmentary bowl decorated with lines and with a panel of vertical wavy lines at the top; two solid bands above the flat base. From the filling packed against wall A-A. A. H. 0.072 m.; W. 0.106 m. B. H. 0.042 m.; W. 0.044 m. Glazed inside. Much worn. An Attic version of a Protocorinthian skyphos.

**184-193.** (P 1751; P 857; P 1752-1756; P 836; P 1757-1758) Figs. 46-48

Fragments from small bowls of the Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

**194.** (P 1759) Figs. 48-49

Fragments of a large bowl decorated with deer(?) moving right; diamonds, swastikas, circles of dots, and elaborate palmette patterns as filling ornaments; lines above; glazed inside with reserved bands. From the filling over wall A-A. H. of largest fragment 0.08 m.; W. 0.10 m. Glaze dark

red inside. The restoration is fairly certain except for the exact arrangement and division of the panels. It may be compared with a Cycladic piece of which the design is heraldic (*Délos*, X, pl. IV, 26). For the palmettes cf. *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, 1, p. 4, fig. 1. Orientalizing style.

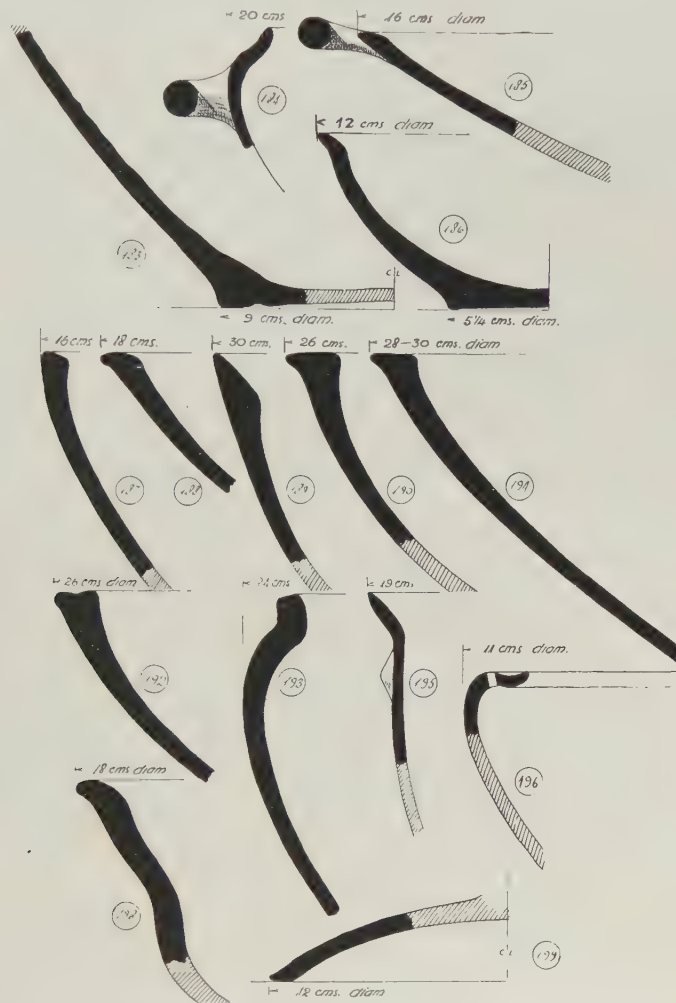


Fig. 46. Profiles of Proto-attic Bowls. Scale 1:2

**195-199.** (P 1760-1764) Figs. 46 and 50

Fragments of various shapes: No. 195 a Cup; No. 196 a Pyxis; Nos. 197-198 Kalathoi (?); No. 199 a Lid. Subgeometric; No. 199 is Orientalizing.

**Kantharoi**

Fragments of more than ten kantharoi were found in the votive deposit. They are evidently descended from the Geometric kantharoi, but hitherto the shape in Orient-



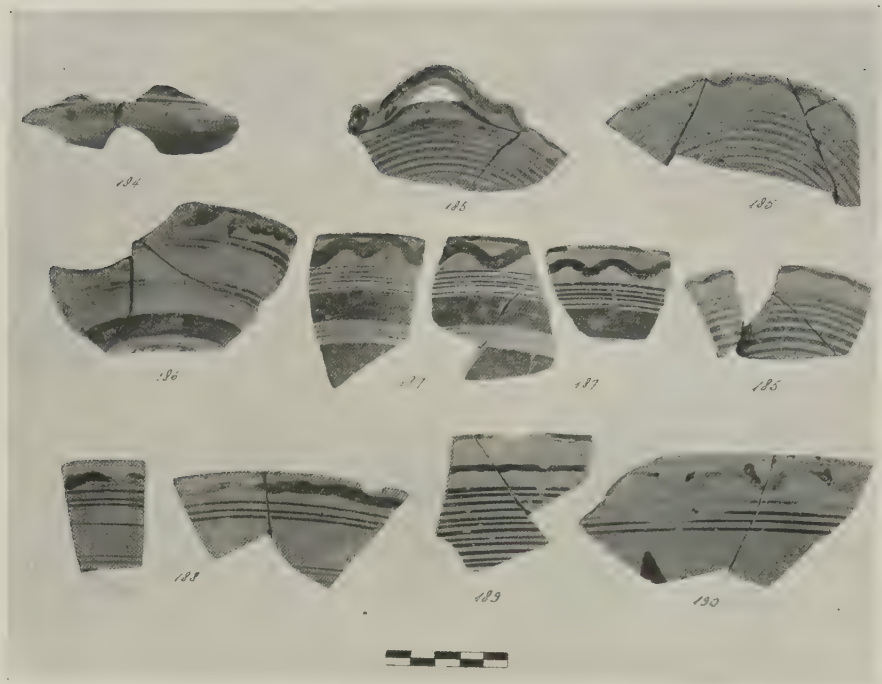


Fig. 47. Sherds from Proto-attic Bowls



Fig. 48. Sherds from Proto-attic Bowls

alizing ware seems to have been discovered only in Boeotia (Collignon-Couve, pl. XVIII, No. 454; *C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, 1, III G, pl. 2, No. 3; Burrows and Ure, *B. S. A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, p. 257). The technique of the examples from the Agora, however, with



Fig. 49. Restoration of a Proto-attic Bowl, No. 194. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale ca. 1:5

a hard buff clay and lustrous glaze, is not Boeotian. Since none came to light in Phaleron, we may consider these as characteristic Athenian products of the early seventh century (cf. earlier parallels from Aegina, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 288, fig. 14, and from Attica, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 54, fig. 17; and a tiny cup from Athens, *B. S. A.*, XII, 1905-1906, p. 89, fig. 11). A later example was found in 1933 (No. 331).



Fig. 50. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds



Fig. 51. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 200



200. (P 530) Fig. 51. *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 118, fig. 8

Deep kantharos with a low ring-base and ribbon handles. Two bands: double vertical zigzags and maeander, in reserved position on opposite sides; at the bottom, rays; on the handles, interlocking spirals. Glazed inside. From the votive deposit, together with Nos. 133-134, 197-198, 201, 304 B, 329 (see Fig. 2). H. 0.089 m.; with handles 0.113 m.; d. at rim 0.193 m.; at base 0.046 m. Glaze reddish brown. For the motives cf. Pfuhl, I, p. 71. The shape and patterns show close relations with Geometric. Early Orientalizing style.

201. (P 531) Fig. 52

Deep kantharos with ribbon handles. Five bands in a thick matt red paint on one side, six on the other; three inside. Found together with No. 200; inside it, the bronze tripod No. 329 (see Fig. 2). H. 0.066 m.; with handles 0.078 m.; d. at rim 0.083 m.; at bottom 0.041 m. The unusual shape is somewhat related to a cup which Boehlau derives from a Geometric shape (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 51, fig. 11). The paint, which is unusual on a vase, is that of the technique of the shields and terracottas with which the vase was found. Subgeometric style.



Fig. 52. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 201.  
Scale 1:2

202. (P 214) Fig. 53

Fragmentary kantharos. Side A: a zone of water birds left in panels divided by a running dog pattern; three lines around the body, rays below; Side B: a zone of elongated rays pointing downward with dotted circles as filling ornaments in the upper zone; below as on side A; a line on the handle; glazed inside. H. 0.074 m.; long axis 0.084 m. Paler clay than that of the other kantharoi. In technique this cup differs from the others from the deposit, but there seems no reason to question its Attic origin. (Cf. *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 52, fig. 13. For the rays, cf. *J.H.S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 51, fig. 4. Island style.) Early Orientalizing style.

203. (P 832) Fig. 54

Fragmentary kantharos. On the upper part, a zone of zigzags in panels; around the body, a chain of diamonds, and above the ring-base spirals; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.103 m.; d. 0.113 m. Glaze reddish-brown. For the motives, cf. Protocorinthian vases; e.g. Johansen, pl. XIX, 3 and an Island Geometric kantharos (*B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 381, fig. 43). Early Orientalizing style.

204. (P 579) Figs. 55-56

Fragmentary kantharos decorated in two zones over rays above the ring-base: Side A: above, crosses with filling triangles and below, birds' necks and heads in a row; Side B: above, heraldic spurred spirals with a filling triangle and below, alternate double zigzags and dot-rosettes; double spirals on the handle. Glazed inside with reserved ring band and a dot under the foot. One sherd, missing in the photograph, has been added for the water-color. From the votive deposit (see Fig. 2). H. 0.144 m.; without handle 0.116 m.; d. base 0.057 m. Cf. No. 213 and the Vourvá skyphos (*Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pl. X), on which the same theme is developed. Early Orientalizing style.



Fig. 53. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 202

205. (P 1765) Fig. 57

Fragmentary kantharos decorated above with a zone of disks pierced by vertical lines; filling outline triangles; below, three lines and rays; glazed inside. From beside wall A—A. H. *ca.* 0.113 m.; restored long axis: 0.122 m. In technique like No. 203, possibly by the same hand. (Cf. for the disk motive, Johansen, pl. XXI, 1.) Early Orientalizing style.

**206.** (P 1766) Fig. 50

Fragment from the upper part. Above, a zone of false spirals; below, a zone of crosses between three wavy lines; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.095 m. Red glaze. By the same hand as Nos. 203 and 205? Early Orientalizing style.

**207.** (P 1767) Fig. 50

Rim fragment decorated with birds moving to right and a geometric pattern below; glazed inside. From the votive deposit. H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.047 m. By the same hand as No. 204? Early Orientalizing style.

**208.** (P 1768) Fig. 50

Ring-base, decorated with rays; a band and dot under the foot; glazed inside. From the disturbed filling. H. 0.018 m.; W. 0.065 m. Perhaps from the same vase as No. 207. (Cf. No. 204, possibly by the same hand.)



Fig. 54. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 203. Scale ca. 1:2½

**209.** (P 1769) Fig. 50

Rim fragment decorated above with zigzags and filling dots; below, a black band and a purple band below that; glazed inside. From the edge of Pit F. H. 0.035 m.; W. 0.038 m. The applied purple seems to indicate that this sherd is not to be dated before the middle of the seventh century; it is probably the latest kantharos fragment.

## Oinochoai

In Geometric oinochoai, the neck, usually high, is always set off sharply from the shoulder. In Proto-attic oinochoai, the neck is either much reduced in height or merged with the body in a curve on the same principle as that employed on certain of the amphorae (see above, p. 575). These squat oinochoai are clearly influenced by Corinthian shapes, but they maintain simpler and less sophisticated lines. Variants have been found in Phaleron (*Arch. Delt.*, 1916, pp. 40f., figs. 40–42).



Fig. 55. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 204



## 210. (P 754) Fig. 58

Fragmentary oinochoe with a slender neck offset sharply from the shoulder; a double handle. In the shoulder panel: a rider on a horse walking left, holding a short club in his right hand in front of him and a long flail or whip(?) in his left behind; his head and body in outline. Projecting forward below the head of the horse a protruding object decorated with loops.

From the trench for wall D-D against the apsidal wall at its eastern end (see Plan, Fig. 2). H. (as restored) 0.23 m.; d. 0.125 m. Glaze much peeled and surface damaged.

The condition of this vase makes interpretation difficult. The rider carries objects which are so crudely drawn that they cannot be identified with certainty, but on analogy with contemporary drawings, it seems to me that the object in the left hand may be interpreted as a whip. The object in front of the horse may be explained as the head of a second horse, grazing, although the type of mane is quite different from that of the first horse. Grazing animals are a common Proto-attic motive. This interpretation is suggested by the resemblance of the loops to the drawing of horses' manes on the Munich krater (*Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, pl. 1) and on a pyxis in Athens (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 55, fig. 20) where the other type of mane also appears. On the pyxis also a second horse is indicated by drawing the head alone, no attempt being made to show the second set of legs. The subject of a rider, often accompanied by a second horse, occurs on contemporary vases elsewhere (Pfuhl, fig. 105; *Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, p. 80, fig. 3; cf. *J. H. S.*, XIX, 1899, pl. VIII, for the Geometric antecedent). The style is Subgeometric and the date lies in the late eighth century.



Fig. 56. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 204. From a Watercolor by P. de Jong

## 211. (P 537) Fig. 59

Fragmentary oinochoe with trefoil mouth and a double handle. Glazed all over except on one side of the handle. Decorated with yellowish white lines running around the neck and above and below the base of the handle. On either side of the handle a vertical white line between the horizontal lines makes a panel. In the panel on one side a rosette, and on the other a swastika painted in yellowish-white. From the votive deposit, southern end, scattered. H. (as restored) 0.283 m.; d. 0.178 m. Brownish-black glaze of rather poor quality. Light on Dark style.

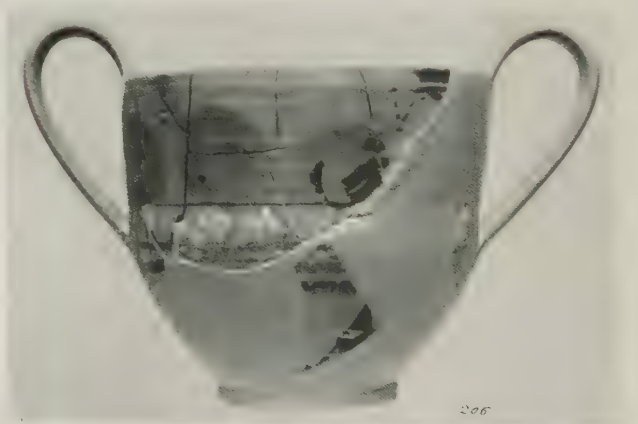


Fig. 57. Proto-attic Kantharos, No. 205. Scale ca. 1:2½

**212.** (P 1770) Fig. 50

Similar handle and bits of the body glazed solid with one white line around the neck and two below the handle. From a Pit. H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.074 m. Black glaze much peeled. Light on Dark style.



Fig. 58. Shoulder of Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. 210

**213.** (P 594) Fig. 60

Fragmentary squat oinochoe with a trefoil mouth and a double handle. In a panel on the neck bordered by zigzags, a palmette design between spurred volutes; below, lines covering the rest of the body; base missing. Scattered over the whole area. II. (as restored) with handle 0.265 m.; d. 0.175 m. Glaze black fired to red on one side, much peeled.

The common elements of palmette and spurred volute are here skilfully disposed into a panel on a surface of marked curvature. The spiral with spurred ends occurs also on No. 204 and on a krater in Cambridge (*C.V.A.*, Cambridge, 1, pl. II, 7; p. 4). A somewhat similar example is in the Aegina Museum. The shape and the lines around the lower

part indicate an early date, probably the late eighth century (cf. *Arch. Delt.*, 1916, p. 41, fig. 41, No. 3). Early Orientalizing style.

**214.** (P 912) Fig. 61

Fragmentary oinochoe. Around the ring-base, lines; above, rays. Glazed solid behind. Set off by two lines in a panel of uncertain width, a lion's head right; mouth open; paw uplifted below.



Fig. 59. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. 211

Traces of a filling ornament above, probably a solid triangle ending in a spiral-hook; below, traces of the paw of another lion (?); behind, parallel ornaments. From Area A-C, scattered. H. (as restored) 0.21 m.; d. 0.175 m. Black glaze with dilute brown for lines and details.

The evidence is insufficient for certain restoration. It seems probable that two lion protomes faced each other with uplifted paws as on the Burgon lebes (Fig. 91; cf. Lamb, *C. V. A.*, Cambridge, pl. II, 7). The style, however, is not that of the lebes nor of the jug from Phaleron (Pfuhl, fig. 83, Athens National Museum No. 322), which may be by one hand. Lion protomes occur frequently on Island vases (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 206; for the drawing of the profile, with its rounded muzzle, cf. pl. X). Orientalizing style probably *ca.* 660 *n.c.*



## 215. (P 835) Fig. 50

Fragments (4) from the body; in a panel bordered by lines the body and legs of a lion walking right, with diamond and spiral-hook filling ornaments. From beside wall A—A. A: H. 0.079 m.; W. 0.091 m. B: H. 0.087 m.; W. 0.118 m. C: H. 0.054 m.; W. 0.089 m.



Fig. 60. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. 213, Restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong. Scale 1:2

The style of drawing is like that of the Burgon lebes and the filling ornaments belong to that cycle. The finish, however, is more like that of No. 214 than like that of the Phaleron jug, which is much coarser. Early Orientalizing style.



Fig. 61. Proto-attic Oinochoe, No. 214



Fig. 62. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

**216-222.** (P 1771-1777) Figs. 62-63

Fragments of Subgeometric and Early Orientalizing styles.

## Miscellaneous

**223.** (P 1225) Fig. 62

Fragmentary handle from an amphora, decorated on the sides with bars, on the front with large rosettes between bands. From Section Delta of the excavation. H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.035 m. An interesting forerunner of the usual late seventh and sixth century type of handle with rosettes. Compare the Kynosarges amphora and the Vourvá Ioutrophoros (*Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, pl. XI; cf. Nilsson, *Jahrb.*, XVIII, 1903, p. 141). Orientalizing style.

**224.** (P 221) Fig. 62

Fragment from the body of an amphora showing in a panel the hind-quarters of a horse with diamond and running-dog filling-ornaments; a bit of a grazing horse's ear and mane at the right. H. 0.073 m.; W. 0.135 m. Glaze burned red on the horse's body. A good example of the style a little earlier than that of the New York Nessos amphora and therefore included, although it came from an area far from the deposit. Early Orientalizing style.

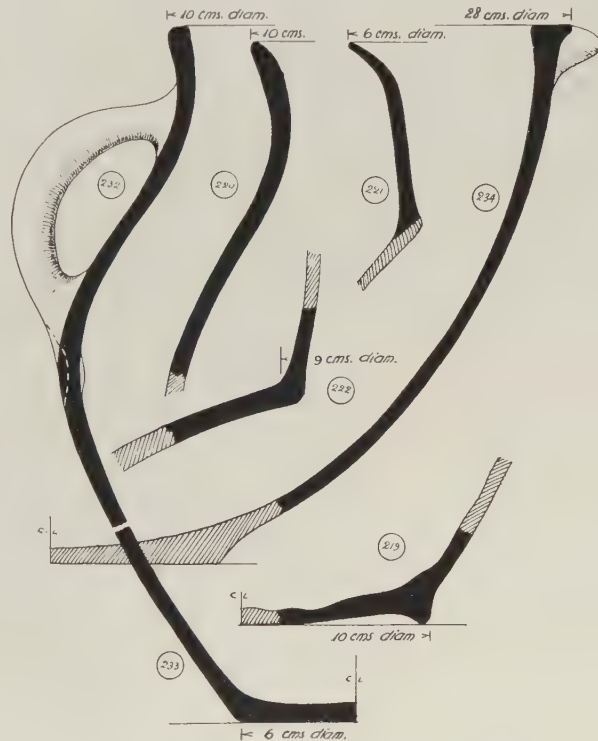


Fig. 63. Profiles of Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds (Nos. 219-222), and of Sherds of Household Ware (Nos. 232-234). Scale 1:2

## Household Ware

Together with the painted ware, a great deal of coarse household pottery was found, especially in Area A-C. It is made by hand of highly micaceous clay and fired brown to reddish in color. This clay resembles that used for household ware in later periods; it may come from Aegina. Although some of this ware probably belongs to the Geometric period (cf. the specimen found in the house-floor, No. 20, see above, p. 555), the major part is assignable from the context to the seventh century. It differs entirely in the size of the pots, in their shapes and in their hard surfaces from the polished incised Geometric ware. But it closely resembles household ware of the sixth century. In smooth surface and thinness of fabric, it is finer than any similar prehistoric wares, as well as those of the fifth century and later. The shapes are few: wide-mouthed jars



with one or two handles, deep bowls, and pitchers. Decoration in incision is simple, but not uncommon.

Similar incised household wares have been found in various places, notably at Anavyssos in Attica (*Prakt.*, 1911, pp. 124-125) of the Geometric period, and in Phaleron (*Arch.*



Fig. 64. Household Jar, No. 225

*Delt.*, 1916, p. 26, fig. 8). Similar ware has also been found at Corinth (*A. J. A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 414 ff., fig. 8).

**225.** (P 890) Fig. 64

Wide-mouthed jar, with one band handle, decorated with incised pairs of wavy lines around the lip, neck, and body from the base of the handle; also along the edges of the handle. On the neck, meander dotted; on the handle, chevron dotted. Pieces scattered throughout the area. H. (as restored) 0.36 m.; d. of mouth 0.188 m.; greatest d. 0.252 m. Two thumb marks at the base of the handle. The band handle is not so common as the round vertical handle.

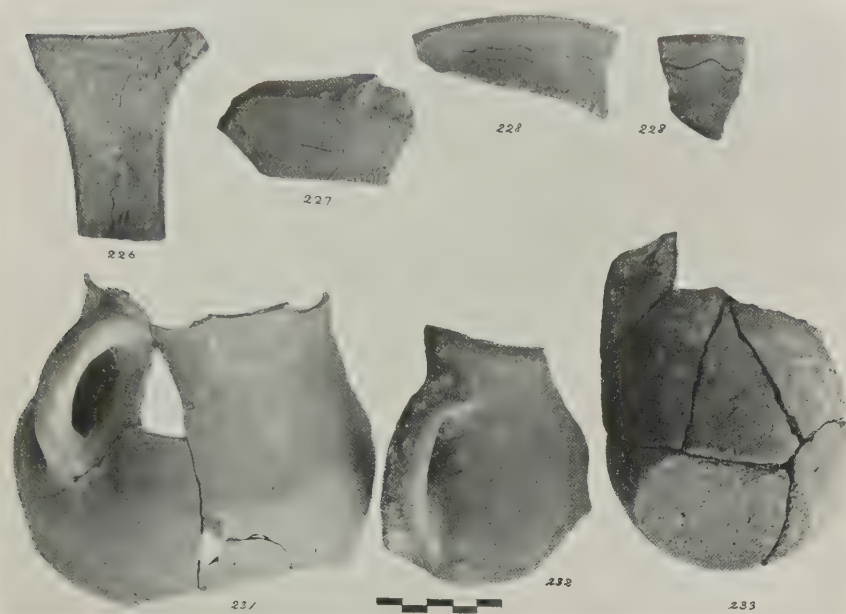


Fig. 65. Sherds from Household Ware

**226-228.** (P 1778-1780) Figs. 65-66

Fragments from household jars with incised decoration.

**229.** (P 891) Fig. 67

Wide-mouthed jar with a low ring-base. From Area A-C. H. (as restored) 0.335 m.; greatest d. 0.245 m.; base d. 0.092 m. Second handle and side restored in plaster. This type of handle and of base is very common.

**230.** (P 533) Fig. 68

Small pitcher with a narrow neck and one handle; high ring-base. Handle missing. From above stratum 2 between walls A-A and C-C (see Fig. 8). H. 0.125 m.; d. 0.10 m. A common type.

**231-243.** (P 534; P 1781-1792) Figs. 63, 65, 66, 69

Fragments from household jugs, bowls, and amphorae, in some cases decorated with incisions.

## Household Objects

Although loom weights were not found in absolutely undisturbed Geometric deposits,

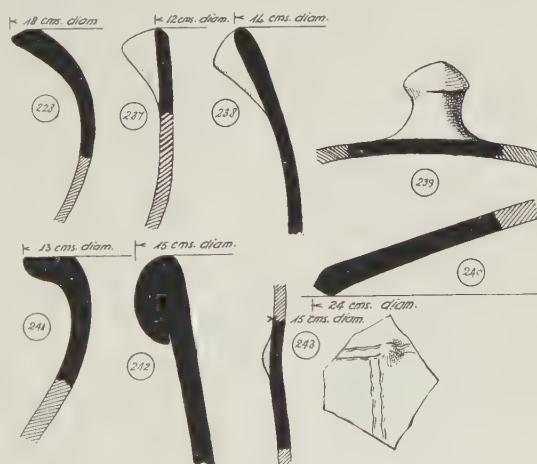


Fig. 66. Sherds from Household Ware. Scale 1:2

it is possible that some of those from the upper levels belong to that period. They have, therefore, been arranged according to shape, ranging from the almost rectangular examples with the hole near the centre to the common pyramidal type. The former are taken to be the earlier on the ground of the discovery of two upon the Geometric floors and of another in a Geometric deposit elsewhere in the Agora. They also resemble



Fig. 67. Household Jar, No. 229

those which were found in a Geometric deposit in Crete (Hall, *Vrokastro*, p. 122, fig. 73; Levi, *Annuario*, X-XII, 1927-1929, p. 479, fig. 591). From the context, the pyramidal examples can be assigned to the seventh century. These are usually decorated with a stamped rosette or two. The spindle whorls are of insignificant number and shape. Two lamp fragments were found in the upper deposit, which are of very early type, with an open bowl and unbridged nozzle. They will be published later with the other lamps from the Agora.





Fig. 68. Household Jug, No. 230. Scale 3:5

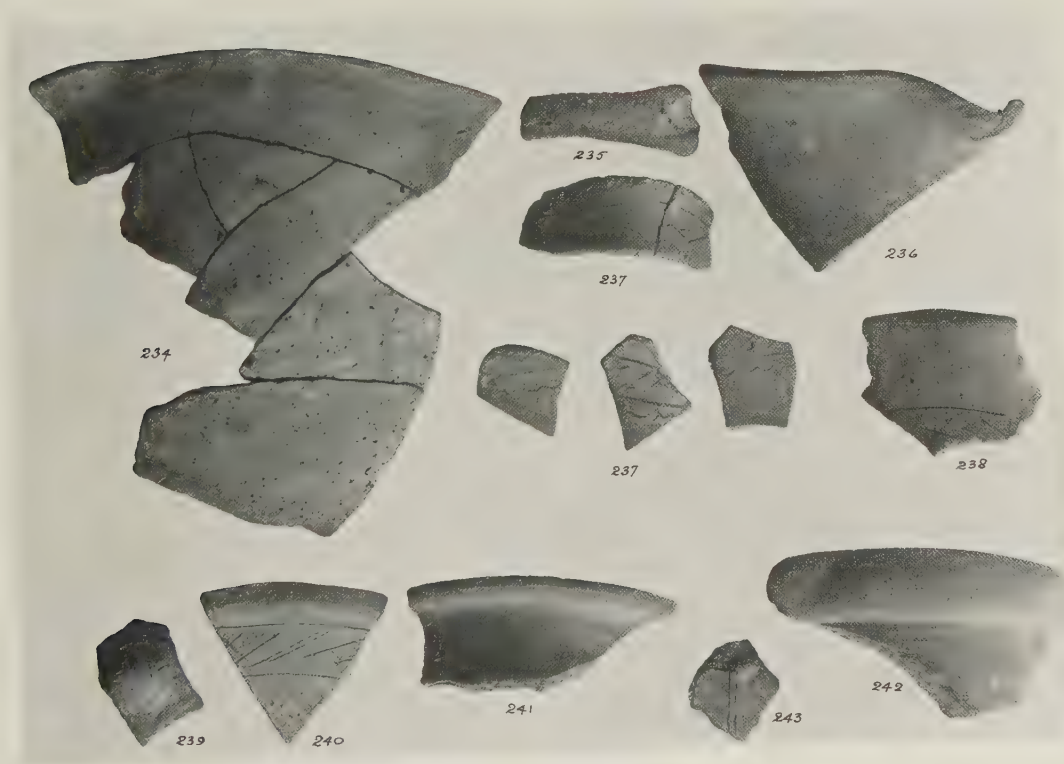


Fig. 69. Sherds from Household Ware. Scale *ca.* 1:2 $\frac{1}{2}$

The clay of the following objects is buff, with the exception of No. **250**, which is made of gray clay with a hard surface.

### Loom Weights

#### Geometric

**244-245.** (MC 24-25) Fig. 70

Three other almost identical examples were found.



Fig. 70. Loom Weights and Spindle Whorls

#### Proto-attic

**246-253.** (MC 26; MC 1; T 320; SS 340; MC 27-30) Fig. 70

### Spindle Whorls

**254-256.** (T 229; T 238; MC 31) Fig. 70

Five other similar examples were found, as well as the certainly Geometric example listed above, No. **98**.

## Disks

As we have noted above (p. 564), 119 disks cut out of pottery were found scattered throughout the votive deposit and the Area A-C. Two others are cut out of soft stone, one of which is marked with a rough cross (No. 275). A mark also seems to be incised on the back of another (No. 260). The surface is often much scratched and worn. The shape and size vary considerably (largest: d. 0.083 m.; smallest 0.028 m.). None is bored



Fig. 71. Disks Cut from Geometric and Proto-attic Pottery

(cf. similar examples mostly bored, Schmidt, *Troj. Altertümer*, p. 223). These disks may be interpreted as stoppers for dedicatory vases or possibly as counters for a game. Several other examples, usually of Geometric pottery, come from other areas. Classical specimens are not unknown. Characteristic samples of each class are listed below.

## Clay

## Geometric

**257-263.** (P 538; P 1793-1795; P 471; P 1796-1797) Fig. 71

There are in addition thirty-four disks covered with a solid glaze, most of which are probably Geometric but some may be Proto-attic.



## Proto-attic

**264-267.** (P 1798-1799; P 537; P 1800) Fig. 71

**268.** (P 539) Fig. 71

Cut from a plaque of which the bottom surface is preserved, showing the hindquarters of a horse, part of a chariot, wheel, and pole, with joined dot-rosettes as filling ornaments. Supplementary purple and incisions. H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.052 m.; T. 0.01 m. Black glaze laid directly on the clay. Cf. the earlier votive plaques Nos. 277 ff. This resembles more closely well-known Corinthian and Black-figured plaques and a relief piece (cf. Waldstein, *Arg. Her.*, II, pl. XLIX, 6; p. 53). Cf. the New York Nessos amphora for the drawing of the feet. This probably dates *ca.* 625 B.C.

There are twenty-five other examples decorated with straight or curving lines, which are probably Proto-attic and six, undecorated, of Proto-attic fabric.

## Miscellaneous

**269-274.** (P 1801-1806) Fig. 71

Nos. 269-273 are of coarse household pottery of which thirty-three other examples were found; No. 274 is of Corinthian ware.

## Stone

**275-276.** (ST 55-56) Fig. 71

Cut from soft poros.

## TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

**277.** (T 175) Figs. 72-73. *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 3, 1932, p. 345 (color); *A. J. A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 358, fig. 7

A complete plaque with holes in the upper corners; the surface damaged at the lower left hand side. Buff, slightly gritty clay covered by a thick white slip, front and back. On the front over the white, a thin red wash covers the entire surface. In the centre stands a female figure with her arms bent upward and her hands palm out with the fingers spread. Her costume is girded at the waist. It apparently represents an outer and an inner garment. Above the waist, the outer garment, which is on the left side, is painted red, the inner, on the right, yellow. This arrangement of the garments is reversed below the waist. On the red garment: above, horizontal divisions by three bluish-green lines; below, bluish-green circles and dots in three rows of eight. On the yellow garment: above, two diagonal rows of four red dot-rosettes; below, a spiral-hook and rosettes in red. The head down to the root of the neck is in mould-made relief. The hair, painted red, is arranged in short curls on the forehead and long wavy locks down to the shoulders; around the head a diadem, painted bluish-green, with dots. The arms, eyebrows, and eyes (but not the lips) are painted red: bluish-green on the irises of the eyes; red pupils.

On either side a snake rears upward. The one on the left is enclosed in a red border, which has a triple bud pattern, red with bluish-green touches, as a filling ornament. The snake, which is horned, is painted red with bluish-green dots. The one on the right extends its fangs; it is painted bluish-green with red dots, and has bluish-green dot-rosettes as filling ornaments.



Fig. 72. Terracotta Plaque, No. 277

From above the stone platform at the southeastern end of the house (see Plan, Fig. 2) near the surface of the votive deposit. H. 0.248 m.; W. at top 0.133 m.; at bottom 0.125 m.; T. 0.011 m.

**278.** (T184) Fig. 74

Fragment from the side of a similar plaque. A border of red lines, containing bluish-green curves; within, part of a twisting snake, red, edged by bluish-green dots. H. 0.026 m.; W. 0.032 m.; T. 0.0055 m.

**279.** (T 412) Fig. 74

Pierced corner fragment from a similar plaque. On the side a narrow border of red lines with bluish-green between; above: a broad red band; within: part of a twisting snake(?) with a bit of applied bluish-green. H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.029 m.; T. 0.005 m.

There are two other fragments from similar plaques, with traces of a red border.

**280.** (T 413) Fig. 74

Pierced corner fragment from a plaque of fairly coarse reddish clay without a slip; traces of red paint down the side. H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.021 m.; T. 0.006 m.

The technique of these plaques makes them important documents in the history of Greek painting. The complete plaque (No. 277) is the earliest Athenian painting in polychromy that we possess; indeed, nothing so elaborate in color survives until the white-ground lekythoi of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> Instead of the traditional black, white, and red, we have white, red, green, and yellow. This painting has little relation to the neat, colored drawings of the Thermon metopes or of the usual terracotta plaques.<sup>2</sup> The color is varied within the outline. Complementary colors are superimposed—the red snake has green dots and the green snake red dots. The chiton is gay with contrasting patterns. Moreover, gradation of tone is attempted in the dilute reddish white of the background and the face. The fact, however, that the arms are painted in solid red shows that the silhouette tradition is still strong and that not yet had Greek painters adopted the convention of differentiating in color the flesh of the sexes.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the appeal of the picture lies in its barbaric color. The drawing is clumsy and careless; neither sense of line nor of form has yet been developed even in Athens.

For there can be no doubt that this plaque is Athenian. The technique is that employed on the numerous figurines and shields from the deposit. This technique of polychromy in matt color is clearly an innovation in Attica where figurines of the Geometric period were painted with glaze. It presumably comes from the east. Cyprus seems to be the home of polychromy, and relief plaques were painted there in color. Thence the technique spread to Crete. The polychromy of Cretan Orientalizing vases, which includes matt black in various shades, red, and yellow, closely resembles that of the mainland.<sup>4</sup> The same technique appears on a set of small unpublished plaques from Eleusis. It was apparently abandoned for plaques when the black-figured technique was developed, as we know from the funeral pinakes. For a later example from the deposit painted in vase technique, see No. 268.

Another curious technical point is the use on this plaque of a mould for the head and of paint for the body. It is found on the small plaques from Eleusis and on others

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 208f.; fig. 19. The plaque in the lower left-hand corner should be turned around; actually it shows the bottom of the dress and the feet of a woman. P. Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *J. H. S.*, XXII, 1902, p. 34; Swindler, *Anc. Ptg.*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Payne, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927-1928, p. 281.



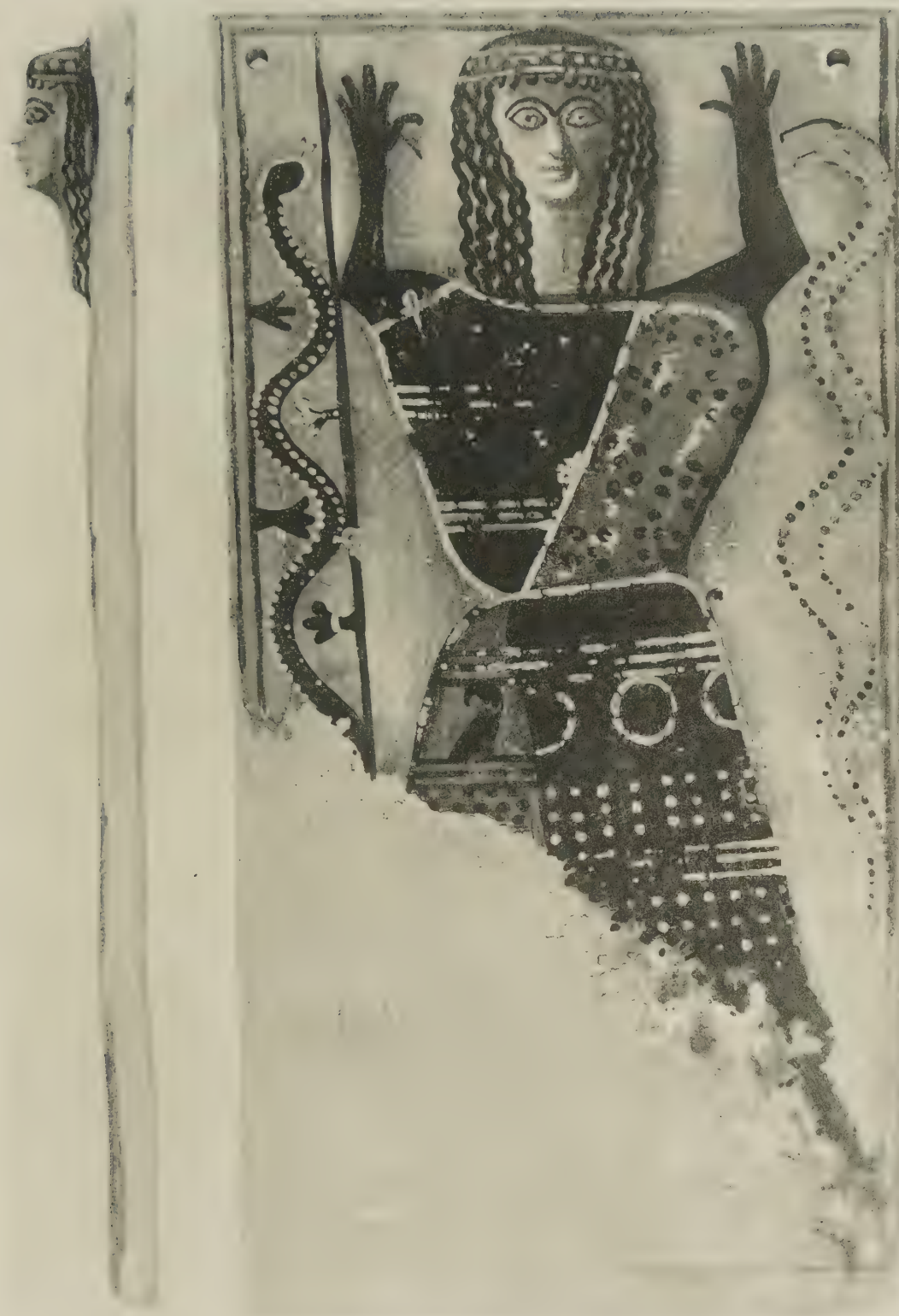


Fig. 73. Terracotta Plaque, No. 277. From a Water-color by P. de Jong; the Profile by M. Simpkin.  
Slightly under Actual Size



from the Acropolis. On these, of which the style is later, only part of the body appears; they form the transition between our type and simple protomes.<sup>1</sup> A large moulded terracotta head from Sparta seems also to have had a flat, painted body of the same sort.<sup>2</sup> Again we find the technique on a terracotta situla from Crete.<sup>3</sup>

From the style, our plaque is to be dated a little before the middle of the seventh century. The head has the flat skull, with hair arranged in long locks and snail-shell curls over the forehead, that appears on Cretan and Protocorinthian heads of that period.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 74. Fragments from Terracotta Plaques (Nos. 278-280), and Shields (Nos. 293-294)

Characteristic also are the high set eyes, the pointed chin, the long neck, and the profile with its sharp nose and pursed mouth. The Spartan head just mentioned is similar, if a little broader, and its modelling is more careful. It is to be dated a little after the middle of the century with early Laconian II pottery. The style of our plaque is also a little earlier than that of the Thermon metopes which Payne dates 650-630 B.C.<sup>5</sup> On these metopes also appear the curious divisions of the chiton into red and yellow sections which do not represent with accuracy any known costume.<sup>6</sup> It is probably a decorative

<sup>1</sup> S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, Pt. II, pp. 334 f.; pp. 397 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Woodward, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927-1928, p. 86, No. 32, pl. I a-b.

<sup>3</sup> D. Levi, *Annuario*, X-XII, 1927-1929, p. 330, fig. 441.

<sup>4</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 47; Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5; p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> *B. S. A.*, XXVII, 1925-1926, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.



scheme like that on a jug from Arkades in Crete and on the Spartan ivories.<sup>1</sup> The designs, particularly the spiral-hook, are those of the Proto-attic repertory.

The significance of the gesture of raising the hands palm outward has been much debated. It is common in pre-Greek art, both in Mycenaean figurines and in Cretan terracottas, bronzes and gems.<sup>2</sup> It is usually interpreted as a gesture of adoration, which survived from Mycenaean times, apparently through Cyprus and the East, down into the Greek period.<sup>3</sup> The parallels nearest to our example are both from Crete: one on a relief plaque from Mathià and on vases from Arkades and Knossos.<sup>4</sup> On the former no attribute of divinity is indicated. The similar figure on the famous Boeotian relief pithos is, however, clearly a goddess.<sup>5</sup> The diadem and aspect of our figure also seem to indicate that she is no mortal woman. But early terracottas show that in the confusion of primitive thought no sharp distinction was made between the mortal and the divine being. The worshipper could acquire merit by identifying herself with the goddess.

One of the difficulties in the interpretation of our plaque is the uncertainty regarding the significance of the snakes in the design. Rearing snakes are often painted on late Geometric vases merely as a decorative motive.<sup>6</sup> On an unpublished early Boeotian oinochoe in the Louvre, however, a snake rears up between two women who raise their hands in astonishment or in adoration. This instance and the fact that the snakes appear on our other fragments of plaques suggest that the scene had originally a significance as a whole. Possibly the significance was sufficiently forgotten when our plaque was painted for the snakes to be relegated to side panels. We may perhaps interpret this scene as showing awe or worship of the snake, either as a supernatural creature itself or as a representative of a supernatural being or dead hero.<sup>7</sup> It seems safe at least to say that the plaque was dedicated in a chthonic sanctuary. Moreover, the type, as we have seen, has its closest contemporary parallels in Crete, which are undoubtedly of Minoan origin. We may suppose, therefore, that the cult was some form of the Cretan cult of the Earth-mother, transported to Attica. But what would be her Athenian name and character?

Nilsson traces Minoan elements in the creation of the Greek Athena and Artemis.<sup>8</sup> Certainly our figure gives no known type of Athena, nor were similar plaques found on the Acropolis. Moreover, the position of the deposit is highly unlikely for a dump from the Acropolis. The type of Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν* is but seldom associated with the

<sup>1</sup> Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 338, fig. 443 a; *Artemis Orthia*, pls. XCV ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1927, pp. 240 f.

<sup>3</sup> M. Collignon, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XVI, 1903, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 622, fig. 654; p. 330, fig. 431. *Anz.* XLVIII, 1933, p. 307, fig. 19.

<sup>5</sup> P. Wolters, *Arch. Eph.*, 1892, pp. 213 ff., pl. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst*, p. 26, however, for insistence on religious symbolism.

<sup>7</sup> Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 428, 432 ff.

snake<sup>1</sup> and in no other way resembles ours. The same arguments hold in regard to Demeter, whose early cult is well known from the discoveries at Eleusis. Again, the Gorgon type, familiar to us from very early times, though usually represented with snakes, is clearly not in any way connected with the figure on our plaque. By the process of elimination, then, we are driven to consider the possibility that we have here a type from a sanctuary hitherto little known, of a deity presumably obscure. Further evidence in this matter will be discussed in regard to the votive deposit as a whole (see below, p. 638).

### Terracotta Shields

Fragments of about thirty-three terracotta shields were found in the votive deposit, in large part east of Pit I. In general they are wheel-made of pinkish-buff clay, decorated in thick matt colors: white, red, yellow, and bluish-green. In a few, lustrous paint is employed. The profiles and convexity vary somewhat. They range from 0.09 m. to 0.27 m. in diameter. The hand and arm straps (*ῥαυος* or *ῥαυη*) are usually like those of No. 281. The designs are geometric, except in one case (No. 283) on which a horse and rider appear.

Similar dedicatory shields have been found only occasionally elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> Since the round shield was introduced into Greece in late Geometric times under Oriental influence, it is interesting to note the parallels in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> In Greece proper, terracotta shields of a later date come from Corinth,<sup>4</sup> Boeotia,<sup>5</sup> and Sparta.<sup>6</sup> The Boeotian are dated by Helbig at the end of the seventh century. They are decorated in rather elaborate patterns in red, yellow, and black paint. Similar shields also came to light in the cemetery at Eleusis<sup>7</sup> and in the dromos of the tomb at Menidi.<sup>8</sup> Several examples are also listed from the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>9</sup> It would seem, therefore, that our group, which dates from the first half of the seventh century, is among the earliest. In general character, it resembles most closely that from Menidi, but the Agora examples are more carefully made and are better preserved. This group differs from all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. XCIII, 2; p. 207, an example dated before the middle of the eighth century. Wolters, *Arch. Eph.*, 1892, pl. 10, 1.

<sup>2</sup> In general see: W. Helbig, *Öst. Jahresh.*, XII, 1909, pp. 45 ff.; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931, pp. 44 f. G. Lippold, "Griechische Schilde," *Münchner archäologische Studien dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet*, München, 1909, pp. 401 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, New York, 1914, p. 71, Nos. 554–555. H. B. Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, I, pt. II, 1912, p. 207, C 1005–1006.

<sup>4</sup> A. E. Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 27 f. Recent excavations have produced Hellenistic examples.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, *op. cit.*, p. 47, fig. 35; P. V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, New Haven, 1922, p. 116 f.; Nos. 180–181; fig. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Woodward, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 99, No. 56, fig. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 120; Skias, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Wolters, *Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 118.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120; *Jahrb.*, XII, 1897, p. 8, note 24.

contemporary examples in the absence of black and in the use of bluish-green paint. The significance of the dedication will be discussed in relation to the deposit as a whole (see below, p. 637).

**281.** (T 176) Figs. 75—76

Low convex shape. Blue, white, and red concentric bands around a white centre. Found to the east of Pit I. d. 0.167 m. Blue paint almost disappeared. Arm and hand straps preserved.



Fig. 75. Terracotta Votive Shields

**282.** (T 177) Fig. 75

High convex shape. Red rim with two red lines inside; red centre with three red crescents on a cream ground. Found with No. 281. d. 0.095 m. Arm strap preserved, hand strap missing.

**283.** (T 183) Fig. 75

Fragmentary. High convex shape with sharply offset rim. Red rim; white surface with blue touches, on which a winged horse in red moves left on an exergue. A rider in blue wears a red crested helmet. From the southern part of the votive deposit. Estimated d. 0.164 m. Part of arm strap preserved. The horseman is a popular device on black-figured shields. (Cf. Chase, *Harvard Stud.*, XIII, 1902, p. 110). The winged horse is a common subject on Proto-attic vases.



**284.** (T 245) Fig. 77

Red outside, with splotches of spilt black lustrous glaze; inside, a thin pale clay slip. Arm and hand straps preserved. From the edge of Pit F. d. 0.13 m.

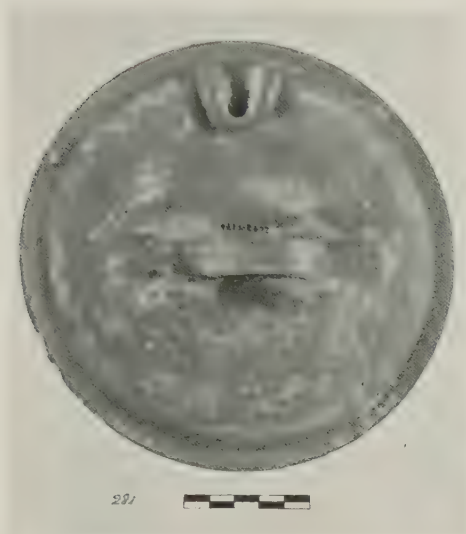


Fig. 76. Interior of Terracotta Shield,  
No. 281

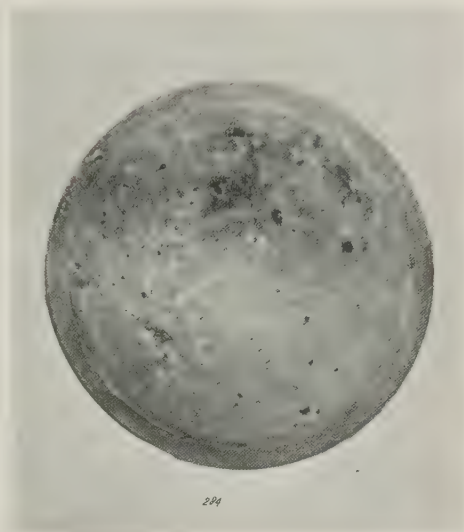


Fig. 77. Terracotta Votive Shield, No. 284.  
Scale 1:2½

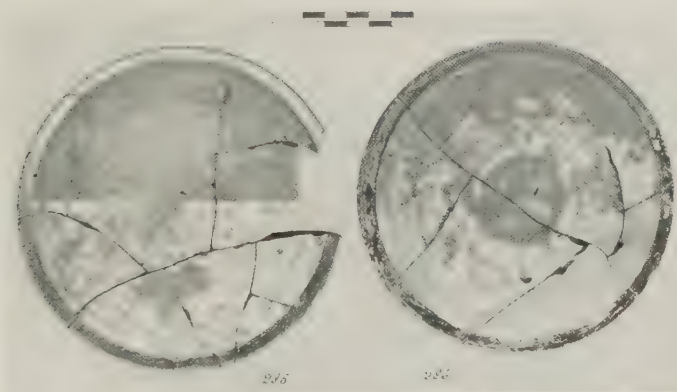


Fig. 78. Terracotta Votive Shields

**285.** (T 178) Fig. 78

Almost complete. Low convex shape. One half red with white rim; the other white with red rim. Found with No. 281. d. 0.144 m. Only an arm strap inside.

**286.** (T 179) Fig. 78

Low convex shape. Red rim, white surface; centre another color (blue?). Found with No. 281. d. 0.139 m. Slight traces of burning inside. Arm and hand straps preserved.

**287.** (T 181) Fig. 79

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. On the rim, alternating groups of red and green triangles. Inside: a six-petal ornament in alternating red and bluish-green with alternating arcs between. Red inside. Found with No. 281. Estimated d. 0.275 m. Broken arm and hand straps. Corrected or earlier drawing visible. For the design cf. the shield device on a Geometric sherd, Athens, National Museum No. 283.

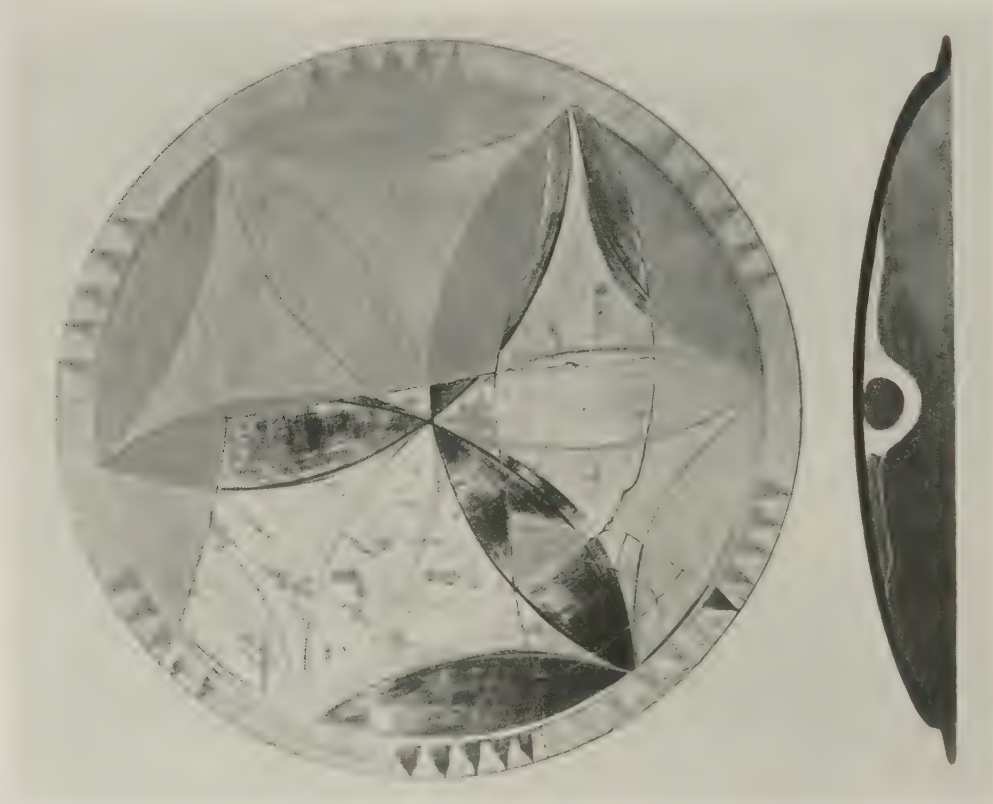


Fig. 79. Terracotta Votive Shield, No. 287, Restored. From a Water-color by P. de Jong.  
Scale 1:2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

**288.** (T 278) Fig. 80

Low convex shape sloping gradually into the rim. Concentric bands of lustrous brownish-black glaze; on the rim inside and across the centre, uneven bands. From the votive deposit area, scattered. Estimated d. 0.135 m. Broken arm strap. Fragments from a similar shield with matt red bands were found.

**289.** (T 277) Fig. 80

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. Yellow rim. On the surface white with traces of a red centre. From the votive deposit area. d. 0.18 m. Slight traces of burning. Arm and hand straps preserved.



Fig. 80. Fragmentary Votive Shields

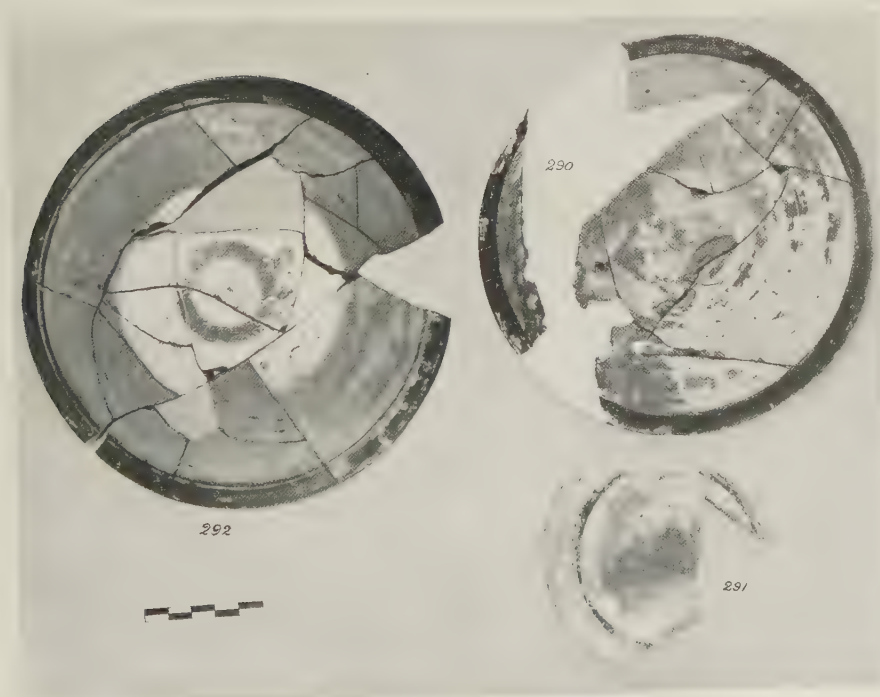


Fig. 81. Fragmentary Votive Shields



**290.** (T 182) Fig. 81

Fragmentary. Low convex shape. Red rim, white surface. d. 0.167 m.

**291.** (T 202) Fig. 81

Somewhat high convex shape gradually sloping into the rim. White slip, over which a blue rim with a red inner line; white band round a red centre with a red triangle(?) on it. From the votive deposit. Estimated d. 0.108 m. Single strap at right angles to the rim.

**292.** (T 180) Fig. 81

Fragmentary. High convex shape. Red rim, concentric bands of blue, white, and yellow round a white centre. Found with No. **281**. d. 0.18 m. Traces of burning after breakage. The yellow paint over the white. Hand strap and traces of arm strap inside.

**293.** (T 414) Fig. 74

Rim fragment. High convex shape. White slip; on the rim dots; inside traces of green and red. From the votive deposit area. W. 0.022 m.; D. 0.023 m.

In addition there are nine sizable fragments from similar shields, similarly decorated in matt paint, and many small ones giving twenty to twenty-five more shields.

**294.** (T 415) Fig. 74

Rim fragment. High convex shape sloping into the rim. On the rim, dots, on the surface concentric bands in lustrous red to black glaze. From the votive deposit area. W. 0.037 m.; D. 0.033 m.

## Terracotta Figurines

Figurines, mostly in small fragments, are numerous in the votive deposit. They form a consistent group. With the possible exceptions of Nos. **304** and **308**, they are crudely hand-made from buff clay like that of Proto-attic pottery. Only a few show a lustrous glaze (Nos. **294**, **306**, **310-315**, **318**). The rest are painted with the matt colors that are also used on the shields, white, red, blue, and yellow, sometimes painted on a white slip, sometimes laid directly on the clay. They resemble Boeotian figurines of the same period, but the colors are harder.

The types are those most common everywhere at this period. Figures of horses and horsemen, four-horse teams, and warriors, have parallels in most museums of Greece and in many of Europe. The origin appears to be oriental.<sup>1</sup> This group is especially significant in the limited dating of its context. None appears to be Geometric<sup>2</sup> and probably few are later than the middle of the seventh century. But in such crude work, it is difficult to define peculiarities which may not be found on survivals of these early types into far later times.<sup>3</sup> We may perhaps consider the following details as characteristic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Roes, *De Oorsprung der geometrische Kunst*, Haarlem, 1931, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pp. 157 ff. Geometric figurines are also rare in Sparta.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Newhall, *A. J. A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 26.

of this period: of the men: the pointed nose and beard; of the horses: the short blunt muzzle with incised mouth and nostrils; the harness in relief; the very short body with a thick neck; and the tail modelled flat and small hanging down against one leg. The tails of Geometric horses and of late hand-made copies are usually thicker and project markedly from the body. But even in our group, there is considerable variation. Before the mould had set types, the coroplast indulged his fancy in proportions and in shapes as well as in details.

In general, these terracottas resemble closely those found at Eleusis, on the Acropolis, and at Menidi.<sup>1</sup> They are no less grotesquely primitive than the hand-made figurines of the same period at Sparta.<sup>2</sup>

**295.** (T 416) Fig. 82

Lower part of an elongated columnar figure; at the top, traces of a girdle; below, wavy bands of lustrous black glaze. From a Pit. H. 0.084 m.; T. *ca.* 0.031 m. Brownish clay. The shape appears to be a descendant of the Mycenaean standing goddess type, but the technique is Subgeometric.

**296.** (T 193) Fig. 82

Standing bearded man with columnar body, broad shoulders, and spreading base; his right arm is bent at the elbow, his left was extended farther from his body. Traces of white slip and red paint. Broken from a base. From the deposit east of Pit I. H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.041 m. The figure leans forward a little and may well have been driving horses. The usual Subgeometric type (cf. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. 87, No. 1962).

**297.** (T 194) Fig. 82

Standing helmeted bearded man, his right arm raised as for a spear; a shield probably hung on his left arm. White slip and red paint on top of the helmet and on the lower part of the body and under spreading base. Found with No. 296. H. 0.081 m.; T. above base 0.019 m. The bit of shield restored in the photograph as hanging on the arm may have come from this figure. Cf. the Cypriote type (Myres, *Cesnola Coll.*, p. 344, No. 2099).

**298.** (T 208) Figs. 82 and 85

Standing male figure with a pinched face; his arms, now broken, extended sideways; the figure is broken off on the bottom at the back. White slip and red lines on the head and body; blue on the face. From under the late wall of Pit G. H. 0.071 m.; T. at lower part 0.016 m. Very irregular; possibly from a horse group as No. 328 with which it is restored on Fig. 85.

**299.** (T 186) Fig. 82

Four horse-team. The driver stands on a narrow bar against the hindlegs of the horses, his hands resting on their backs. He and the horses are decorated with alternating red and blue lines laid directly on the clay, with traces of white on one side; on the necks of the inner horse, blue lines only. From the southern part of the votive deposit area. Estimated H. 0.113 m.; W. 0.054 m. The front legs of the horses are missing. This is evidently a stenographic representation of a chariot

<sup>1</sup> Wolters, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, pls. XL–XLI.

such as appears on the MacMillan lekythos (Pfuhl, fig. 58). Similar pieces have been found in Eleusis, of which seven are exhibited in the Museum (Winter, *Typenkatalog*, I, p. 25, 2), and on the Athenian Acropolis (*Acrop. Mus. Cat.*, II, p. 430, No. 1211), and at Menidi (*Jahrb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 122, fig. 26). Another is in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 5602).

**300.** (T 249) Fig. S2

Fragmentary similar group. White slip with horizontal and vertical bands of alternate red and blue. From Pit I at a depth 2.20 m. below the votive deposit level. H. 0.09 m.; W. 0.055 m. Most of the upper part and the forelegs missing. Seven sizable fragments from similar groups were also found, as well as many small ones.



Fig. S2. Terracotta Figurines from the Votive Deposit

**301.** (T 206) Fig. S2

Driver from a similar group. He has a pinched face; his arms are extended sideways. He wears a helmet. From the centre of the votive deposit. H. 0.079 m.; W. at shoulders 0.025 m.

**302.** (T 195) Fig. S3

Bearded rider, his legs bent back, both arms extended forward. He wears a red belt and cross straps of red and yellow. Found with No. 281. H. 0.09 m.; span of legs 0.047 m. No trace of attachment beneath. For the position of the legs, cf. Cypriote riders (Myres, *Cesnola Coll.*, p. 344, No. 2093). Cf. a Spartan example, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927-1928, p. 81, fig. 3, No. 26.



**303.** (T 199) Fig. 83

Fragmentary similar figure, with his right arm bent up to hold a spear and his left bent forward, wearing cross-straps of red and yellow(?). From the southern part of the area. H. 0.064 m.; greatest T. 0.018 m.



Fig. 83. Proto-attic Figurines from the Votive Deposit

## Horses

## Group of Four Horses

**304 A.** (T 196) Fig. 84

Horse, wearing a collar and the bosses of a bridle at the side of the head; traces of a yoke on the back; no tail. The nostrils and mouth are incised. Blue paint with touches of a red bridle. From the votive deposit area, southern end. H. 0.155 m.; L. 0.082 m. The absence of tail and the dash of red paint at the back suggest that there was a chariot at the back of the irregular base which shows traces of attachment for four horses (L. 0.147 m.; W. 0.102 m.; T. 0.015 m.; traces underneath of its having rested, when the clay was soft, upon a roughly planed wooden surface).

**B. (T 200) Fig. 84**

Similar fragmentary horse. Bridle, collar, and yoke broken. Unpainted, except for splashed flecks of red paint. Found near No. 304, together with the kantharos No. 200, and Nos. 97-98, 133 134, 329. H. 0.10 m.; L. 0.073 m.

**305. (T 192) Fig. 83**

Fragmentary neck and head of a horse. Traces of a collar. Touches of red and white paint on the neck. From east of Pit I. H. 0.085 m.; T. at bottom 0.03 m. The breakage at the bottom of the neck indicates that the body may have been hollow. In size and in technique this differs slightly from No. 304.

**306. (T 224) Fig. 85**

Horse from a similar group, wearing a collar, bridle-bosses, and girth; traces of a yoke. Mouth incised; a small tail hangs down the left hindleg. Covered with red paint except under the body; blue bridle and a blue splotch on the left side. From west of Pit I. H. 0.09 m.; L. 0.081 m.

**307 A. (T 223) Fig. 83**

Fragmentary horse from a similar group, with a yoke preserved, turned up at the end; part of a bar against the left foreleg; the tail hangs down the right leg. Painted in lustrous black glaze with traces of red on the left side. From the votive deposit, centre (see Fig. 2). H. 0.079 m.; L. 0.059 m.

**B. (T 219) Fig. 83**

Similar horse. No trace of a yoke. The tail hangs down the left leg. Covered with traces of black lustrous glaze. From beside Pit I. H. 0.116 m.; L. 0.063 m. Despite the absence of a trace of a yoke, this horse is identical in size and type with A and probably comes from the same group.

**308. (T 204) Fig. 83**

Horse standing, with the tail hanging down the right leg. White slip with red stripes; red dots and bars across the chest and forelegs. From beside Pit I. H. 0.165 m.; L. 0.082 m.

**309. (T 198) Fig. 83**

Large head with modelled ears, forelock, and nostril. White slip, with yellow paint and red lines for the mane on the right side and for the eye(?). From the votive deposit, southern part.



Fig. 84. Fragmentary Terracotta Group of four Horses, No. 304. Scale *ca.* 1:2

H. 0.112 m.; W. at bottom 0.051 m. The breakage indicates that the body may have been hollow. Inasmuch as only one side is painted, possibly it comes from a group.

**310.** (T 197) Fig. 83

Fragmentary head. Painted red on the right side only. From the votive deposit, southern end. H. 0.055 m.; W. at bottom 0.035 m. Probably from a group.

**311.** (T 205) Fig. 86

Body with traces of a projecting tail. Painted with black lustrous glaze. From Pit E. H. 0.038 m.; L. 0.084 m. The thin body and clumsy modelling seem to be indications of an early date.



Fig. 85. Restored Terracotta Chariot Group. Scale 1:2

**312.** (T 417) Fig. 86

Fragmentary forepart. Bands and lines of lustrous red glaze on the left side and splotches on the right. From the general area. H. 0.081 m.; W. 0.049 m.

**313.** (T 418) Fig. 86

Fragmentary hindquarters with the tail hanging down right leg. Lustrous brownish-black glaze over the rear. From the votive deposit, centre. H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.042 m.

**314-324.** (T 218; T 189; T 220; T 209; T 188; T 203; T 268; T 190; T 201; T 207; T 191)  
Fig. 86

Small horses painted with matt white and red except Nos. 314-315, 318 which have touches of lustrous glaze.



**325.** (T 187) Fig. 86

Bird with a long neck and tail, on a spreading base. White slip with alternate red and blue stripes. From the votive deposit, southern end. H. 0.057 m.; L. 0.05 m. The species is not easily identifiable; probably some form of water-bird. Cf. Roes, *De Oorsprung der geometrische Kunst*, p. 122, fig. 127.

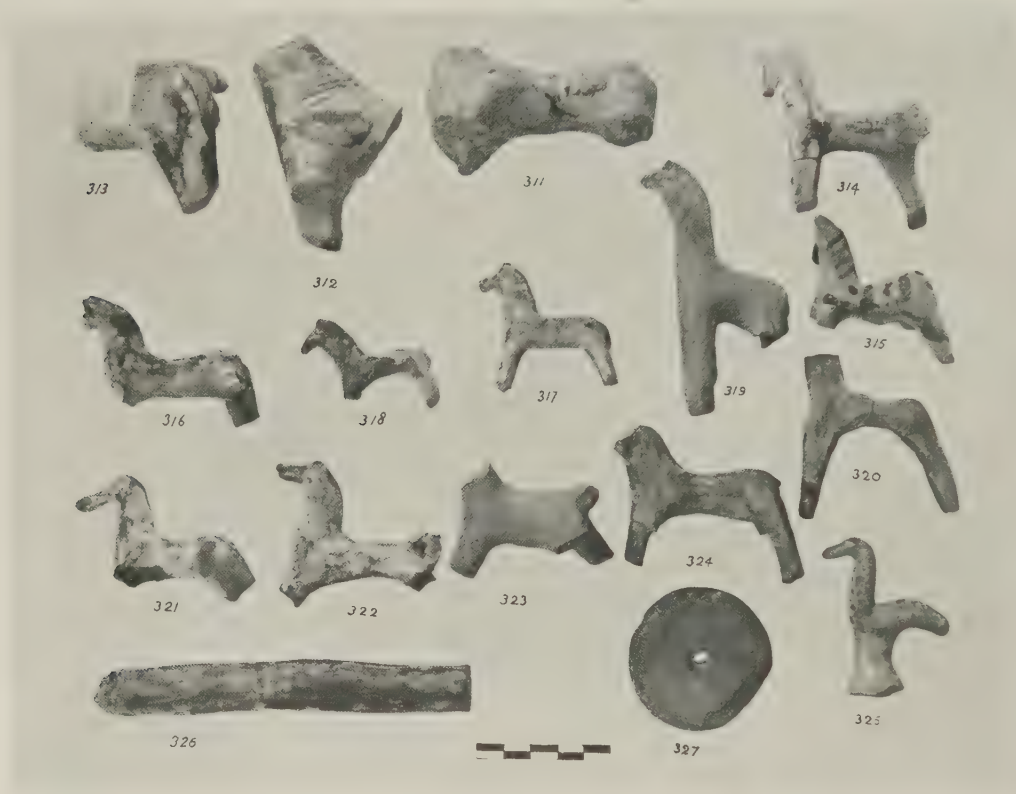


Fig. 86. Miscellaneous Terracottas from the Votive Deposit

**326.** (T 419) Fig. 86

Fragmentary snake(?) covered with a white slip and red paint except for a narrow reserved band underneath. From the votive deposit area. L. 0.014 m.; d. 0.012 m. The most plausible interpretation of this object is that it represents a snake.

**327.** (T 321) Fig. 86

Wheel, with a smooth rim, bored through the centre. From the votive deposit area, southern end. d. 0.054 m.; T. 0.008 m. Light reddish-brown highly micaceous clay, like that of Proto-attic household ware. Probably from a chariot, possibly merely a disk.

There are also several bases for horses and one for a figure standing in front of some object, like a Boeotian group, and numerous small fragments of horses of the types listed.

**328.** (T 420) Fig. 85

Fragment of a base upon which the body of a chariot is preserved, showing traces of the driver who stood inside. Traces of pinkish paint on the chariot; red on the sides and a bit on the top. From the filling over the votive deposit. H. 0.038 m.; W. 0.08 m. From a group like No. 304, possibly with the horse No. 306, which is on the same scale and covered with the same paint. To illustrate the type, this piece has been photographed with Nos. 306 and 298 (which is on slightly too small a scale).

Bronze

**329.** (B 57) Fig. 87

Fragmentary votive tripod; legs riveted at the rim; shallow bowl. Found inside the Proto-attic kantharos No. 201 in the central part of the votive deposit area. d. of the bowl ca. 0.055 m. Thin and poorly made. Similar votive tripods of the same period were found at Sounion (*Arch. Eph.*, 1917, pp. 207-208, fig. 18; National Museum), and at Olympia (*Olymp.*, IV, pl. XXVII, Nos. 536 ff.).

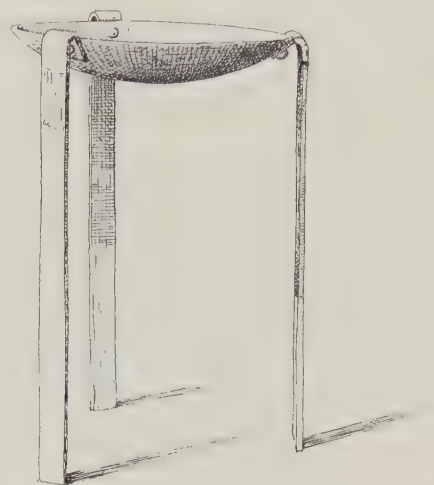


Fig. 87. Restoration of a Bronze Votive Tripod, No. 329. Scale 2:3

## APPENDIX

After the foregoing catalogue had been made, the excavations of 1933 produced a number of sherds that seemed worthy of publication in connection with it. In no case was the place of discovery of great significance. The deposit in the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon was in general consistently Proto-attic, though thrown in not earlier than the late sixth century. These sherds are listed here for their intrinsic value and it must be noted that, with the exception of No. 330, they can bear no relation to the previous group.

**330.** (P 811) Fig. 88

A plastic griffin's head protome from a large bowl that was glazed inside. The pointed ears are broken; a horn springs from the forehead. It is covered with a creamy slip; on the neck is a dotted scale pattern in dilute glaze; black glaze on the tongue, ears, and a band down the back of the neck. Found in 1932 in a cistern not far from the votive deposit. H. 0.123 m.; W. 0.043 m. Pinkish clay. The knob on the forehead, often rendered as an ornament in bronze, seems in this case to represent a horn. Clay versions of the great bronze kraters with griffin protomes are not uncommon (*Arg. Heraeum*, II, p. 41, No. 262, pl. XLVIII, 15; *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-1928, p. 78, fig. 2, No. 13; Levi, *Annuario*, X-XII, 1927-1929, p. 323, fig. 420 a; there are some new examples from the Kerameikos). It is interesting to note that the legendary prototype of this kind of bowl was dedicated by the Samians in honor of their discovery of Tartessos at just about the time that our votive deposit was discarded (Herod. IV, 152; Boeblau, *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 64, note 26). This example is a simplification of the bronze originals of the later type (cf. *Olymp.*, IV, pp. 119 ff., pl. XLV-VII, XLIX; *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 330, figs. 76-77, Nos. IX, 1-2). Orientalizing style.

## 331. (P 1936) Fig. 88

Fragment of the lower part of a large kantharos. Above the ring-foot alternating black and white rays, with swastika filling ornaments. Above the rays a zone of coursing white hounds and black hares, with spiral hooks, zigzags, and trefoil filling ornaments; above, portion of a zone showing a chariot race. The upper zones are divided by a groove. Black ring underneath.

From the filling in the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.105 m.; d. base 0.67 m. The white is applied directly on the clay for the rays and on black paint for the hound. This kantharos is more elaborate and later than any from the deposit (Nos. 200 ff.). The chariot occurs

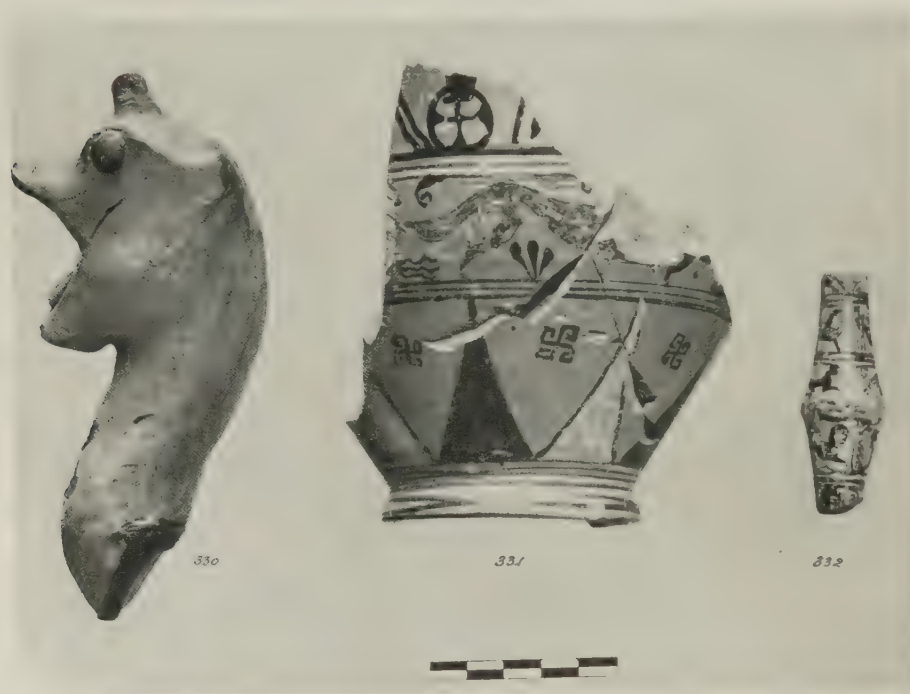


Fig. 88. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds

frequently on Proto-attic vases, though usually in solemn procession, not so often racing as the position of the feet of the horse on this piece suggests (cf. the Hymettos amphora, New York Nessos amphora, and Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop.-Vasen*, I, pl. 13, Nos. 364, 368 b). The coursing hound motive is far more popular on Protocorinthian vases than on Proto-attic, of which only two examples are known to me (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 13, No. 370; Richter, *Handbk. of the Metropolitan Mus.*, p. 61, fig. 36). For rays of alternating dark and light color, cf. the Burgon lebes, Karlsruhe krater, and *Anz.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 202, fig. 7. Orientalizing style.

## 332. (P 1423) Figs. 88-89

Fragment from the stem of the high handle of a lid, broken at both ends. Decoration in five zones heraldically placed about a central line of alternating guilloches and zigzags. In the upper zone, horses' feet; below, sphinxes with uplifted paws; below, horses with hanging bridles; below, crouching sphinxes; below, horses. From the surface of Section Theta. H. 0.064 m.; d. at centre 0.022 m. Buff clay with lustrous brownish-black glaze. An unpainted rib down the back.



This probably is the stem of the handle of the lid of a large amphora or krater. The design is unusual, but the details are in good Proto-attic style. Sphinxes with uplifted paws occur on the Theban krater, which is similar in style (cf. also *Arch. Eph.*, 1912, p. 5, fig. 2), more so than the jug in Munich (*Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, p. 100, figs. 13–14). The scaly wings, however, are closer to those on the Munich jug than to those on later fragments (*Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, pl. III, 2). The drawing of the horses is more advanced than that on the pyxis in Athens (*Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 55, fig. 20). It is in the spirit of the kothon with lions in the Acropolis Museum (*ibid.*, figs. 21–22). Early Orientalizing style.



Fig. 89. Proto-attic Sherd. No. 332. Projection drawn by P. de Jong.  
Scale 5 : 1

**333.** (P 2435) Fig. 90

Fragment from the lower part of a conical stand, decorated with a broad band at the bottom and panels of careless geometric designs. From the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.096 m.; W. 0.178 m. A typical stand for a large krater, of Subgeometric style. The designs are unusual.

**334.** (P 3400) Fig. 90

Fragment from a krater decorated on the rim with bars; below, horizontal lines of varying width, the upper two with subordinate vertical lines. Glazed inside. Same provenience. H. 0.083 m.; W. 0.16 m. Glaze brown outside, black inside. The profile and type of this wide-mouthed krater are common. Subgeometric style.

**335.** (P 2403) Fig. 90

Fragment from a krater decorated with horizontal lines and concentric circles, their centres joined by a line; glazed inside. Same provenience. H. 0.057 m.; W. 0.053 m. The design is unusual. The wheels on Theran vases are never so joined. On one sherd from Delos (*B. C. H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 382, fig. 46) two circles are joined by a bar which does not penetrate them. Subgeometric style.

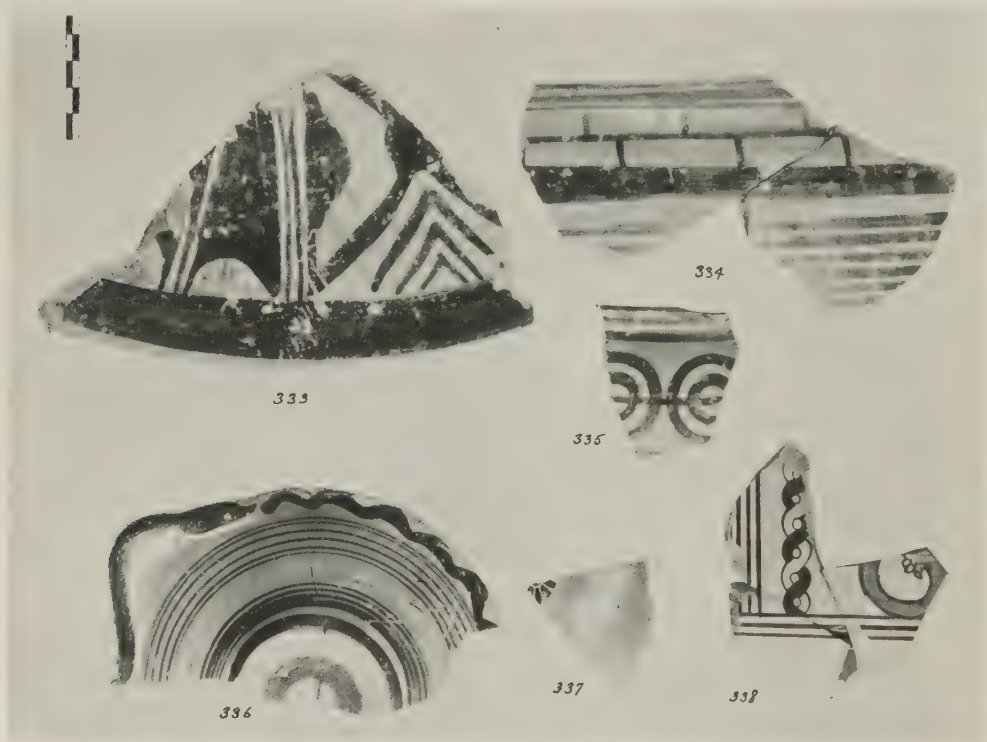


Fig. 90. Miscellaneous Proto-attic Sherds, Nos. 333-337, and one Protocorinthian, No. 338

**336.** (P 2401) Fig. 90

Half a small dish with a loop handle; bars on the flat rim; a wavy line below it; groups of fine lines below and a band around and under the foot. Glazed inside with a reserved band. Same provenience. H. 0.031 m.; W. 0.148 m. Black glaze inside; black to red outside. This is our best example of the type of dish that was extremely popular in the seventh century (see Nos. 185 ff.). Subgeometric style.

**337.** (P 2394) Fig. 90

Fragment from an amphora (?) decorated below with a purple band, showing a human left leg and part of the other leg, advancing to the right, painted in white, with an incised rosette as filling ornament behind. From a miscellaneous filling. H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.047 m. Buff slightly lustrous surface as No. 133; lustrous black paint. The drawing of the leg is not unlike that on the Kynosarges amphora, though on a much smaller scale. The use of white, purple, and incised details are characteristic also of this period, about the middle of the seventh century. Orientalizing style.

## 338. (P 2396) Fig. 90

Fragment from an oinochoe(?). Rays below and a panel above, bordered by horizontal and vertical lines enclosing a guilloche and a tendril ending in a palmette. From the foundations of the stoa in Section Epsilon. H. 0.096 m.; W. 0.082 m. Clay pinkish with a fine creamy slip inside and out. Paint red, dilute for the interior of the tendril. The technique of this extraordinary piece is certainly Protocorinthian, but the wide disposal of the decoration is curious. In addition, the guilloche of dark and light strands is not the usual Protocorinthian type (cf. Johansen, pl. IV, 4; V, 2), but it often occurs on Proto-attic (cf. No. 144). Similarly, Protocorinthian technique does not to my knowledge fill a dark outline with dilute wash as on our Proto-attic sherd No. 133. Again, the usual Protocorinthian tendril ornament ends in a much conventionalized palmette like a tassel, whereas this example resembles that on Nos. 136 and 169. In fact this piece could be said to show Proto-attic influence.

## Discussion of the Proto-attic material

This survey of the Proto-attic material from the Agora has indicated interesting additions to our previous knowledge of the field.<sup>1</sup> In the first place, it has shown the suitability of the term Proto-attic for the pottery made in Attica after Geometric and before Black-figured vases. Geometric ware, although varying somewhat locally, has a consistent character throughout Greece. The individuality of the towns is not so clearly impressed upon it as upon the more complex and differentiated orientalizing wares. Geometric ware may be called Panhellenic in character. Proto-attic is, however, like Protocorinthian, the first product of the city-state. It is significant also that we must call this product Attic and not Athenian. Our excavations have shown that Phaleron ware is really a subdivision of this class; it is not found in Athens. The Athenian product is individual and recognizable, distinct in shapes, technique, and style.

It must be remembered, however, that the Agora deposit is definitely limited both in date and in character. The excavations at the Kerameikos<sup>2</sup> have produced contemporary material of another character which shows the versatility of the Proto-attic potter. When all this material is available, a revision of the old and a comparative study of the new will be most fruitful and informative for an interesting period in Athenian history. But since this paper must restrict itself to the presentation of the material from the Agora alone, no complete study will be attempted of foreign influences, chronology, or artistic value of the ware as a whole. Looking upon the pottery, figurines, and plaques as the product of one craft, we shall consider the technique, form, and style.

On the accompanying table (Fig. 91), the discussion is summarized in convenient form for reference, but no rigid divisions or categories are intended. Well-known examples of

<sup>1</sup> The most important studies on Proto-attic pottery are: J. Boeckh, "Frühattische Vasen," *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, pp. 33 ff.; G. M. A. Richter, "A New Early Attic Vase," *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 370 ff.; R. Haack, "Zwei frühattische Gefäße der Münchner Vasensammlung," *Jahrb.*, XXII, 1907, pp. 78 ff.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 121 ff., with full bibliography; cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, London, 1928, pp. 8 ff., and *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 588. There is important unpublished material in the British Museum, Athens Museum (chiefly Phaleron ware), Aegina Museum (from the recent excavations by Welter), at the Kerameikos, in Eleusis, and in private collections in Berlin and Athens.

<sup>2</sup> See *Anz.* XLVIII, 1933, pp. 262 ff.



CLASS	VASE (Provenience, Museum No.)	REFERENCE	AGORA EXAMPLES
SUB- GEOM- ETRIC  <i>ca.</i> 725—640 B.C.	Krater, Kerameikos Athens 467	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , 1892, pl. 10	Degeneration of Geometric technique; many amphorae and dishes.
	Fragment, Athens Athens	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1895, pl. III, 1	Nos. 40, 126 131, 138, 148.
	Amphorae, Phaleron Athens 14488—14489	<i>Eph.</i> , 1911, p. 248, figs. 6—7; <i>Delt.</i> , 1916, p. 27, figs. 11—12	161, 170, 174—177, 183— 184, 196—197, 201, 210, 218, 221, 333 335
	Miniature Vases, Phaleron		
	Amphora, Phaleron Athens	<i>Ibid.</i> , figs. 15—16	First appearance of Orient- alizing motives; many oinochoai and kantharoi.
	Amphora, Hymettos Berlin 56	<i>Jahrb.</i> , 1887, pl. 5	Nos. 139, 142, 144, 150, 152. 154, 156—157, 162, 166
	Amphora, Pikrodaphni Athens 469	<i>B. C. H.</i> , 1893, pl. 2—3	167, 178 182, 185—193, 198, 200, 202 208, 213, 216—217, 220, 332, 336
	Hydria, Analatos Athens 468	<i>Jahrb.</i> , 1887, pl. 3 4	
	Fragment, Eleusis Eleusis	<i>Eph.</i> , 1912, p. 5, fig. 2	
	Amphora, Athens Berlin 31312	Neugebauer, <i>Vasenführer</i> , pl. 7	
EARLY ORIENT- ALIZING  <i>ca.</i> 725—675 B.C.	Fragments, Phaleron Athens?	<i>Eph.</i> , 1911, pp. 249 f., figs. 11 to 15	
	Krater, Thebes Athens 464	<i>Jahrb.</i> , 1887, pl. 4	
	Krater, Athens Munich	<i>Jahrb.</i> , 1907, pl. 1	
	Jug, Phaleron Munich J 221	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 100, figs. 13 14	
	Krater, Athens Karlsruhe C 2678	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 99, fig. 12	
	Krater, Athens Cambridge 7/25	<i>C. V. A.</i> , Cambridge, 1, pl. II, 7	
	Fragments, Athens, Acropolis Athens 344 364	Graef-Langlotz, <i>Akrop.-Vas.</i> , I, pls. 12—13	

Fig. 91. Table of the Chronology of Proto-attic

CLASS	VASE (Provenience, Museum No.)	REFERENCE	AGORA EXAMPLES
ORIENT- ALIZING <i>ca.</i> 675-640 B.C.	"Burgon Lebes," Athens Brit. Mus.	Pfuhl, fig. 82; <i>J. H. S.</i> , 1926, p. 207, fig. 1	Development of Orientalizing motives; many amphorae and oinochoai.
	Jug, Phaleron Athens 1085	<i>Jahrb.</i> , 1887, p. 52, fig. 14	Nos. 132-134, 136, 143, 145-
	Fragment, Athens Athens	<i>Ath. Mitt.</i> , 1895, pl. III, 2	146, 155, 158, 163-165, 169, 171, 194, 199, 209, 214 215, 223 224, 330 -
	Amphora, Athens Metrop. Mus., New York	<i>J. H. S.</i> , 1912, pp. 370 ff., pl. X to XII	331
	Lebes fragment Athens, Kerameikos	<i>Anz.</i> , 1932, p. 199, figs. 6-7	
	Lebes fragment, West of Acropolis The Hague (?)	<i>C. V. A.</i> , Pays-Bas, 2, III II c, pl. 4, 4	
	Amphora, Athens, Kynosarges   Brit. School,   Nat. Mus.	<i>J. H. S.</i> , 1902, pp. 29 ff., pls. II to IV	
LIGHT ON DARK <i>ca.</i> 725-640 B.C.	Fragments, Athens Athens 361 ff.	Graef-Langlotz, <i>Akrop.-Vas.</i> , I, pl. 13	
	Skyphos, Attica Nat. Mus. case 5, No. 14437	A red-glazed skyphos decor- ated with a bird in yel- lowish-white paint	Geometric, Orientalizing, and naturalistic designs light on a dark ground. Nos. 32, 137, 159, 168, 172 - 173, 195, 211 212, 222
HOUSE- HOLD	Jar, Phaleron Athens?	<i>Delt.</i> , 1916, p. 26, fig. 8	Highly micaceous clay; Geo- metric decorations in in- cision. Nos. 20, 26-27, 225-243

Proto-attic ware are listed for comparison, stylistically grouped in a general chronological order. No attempt is made to place the fragmentary Agora material in such order within the large classes. Since no vase is listed for comparison that does not bear some reference to this material, examples of the Phaleron and Vourvá styles and all the latest phase of Proto-attic have in general been omitted. For any thorough study of the chronology and character of Proto-attic, the contents of over thirty-five boxes of sherds from our deposit which were not in themselves worthy of publication, should be reconsidered, as well as sherds from other parts of the Agora.

### Technique

In the Proto-attic material we have observed two techniques which are generally kept rigidly distinct, the use of lustrous glaze for pottery and of polychromy in matt colors for terracottas. This Athenian differentiation of techniques lies midway between the contemporary Corinthian use of glaze in both classes and the Boeotian predilection for matt polychromy in both. The colors on the Agora plaques, shields, and terracottas are painted usually on a hard white slip, very occasionally on the clay itself. The colors are remarkably firm and well preserved. We have noted how they differ from other colors used during the same period in Attica and Boeotia in the absence of black paint and in the presence of greenish-blue. Red and blue are the usual colors; yellow is fairly common.<sup>1</sup> This technique presumably came from Cyprus through Crete together with the Orientalizing motives (see above, p. 606).

The technique of the vases is surprisingly varied. As Miss Richter has pointed out, the potter is trying experiments which will lead to the consistent and successful technique of Black-figured ware.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the early part of the seventh century, he follows the Geometric tradition of a glaze varying from brown to black on a buff ground. This glaze is often poor and from careless firing, often turns red in part. The red varies from scarlet to purplish. The variation in color between red and black was put to decorative advantage and therefore presumably the potter had some means of controlling it (e.g. No. 336). In many cases the clay is poorly washed, the surface brownish, and the glaze dull and unevenly streaked, tending to coagulate into patches (Nos. 150, 158, 333). Again it has a metallic sheen not at all unlike that of Hellenistic glaze (Nos. 177, 203, 205, 206). In only one case is the thick matt-red paint of figurine technique found on a vase (No. 201). These variations in quality are probably due to carelessness rather than to conscious effort, for the Proto-attic potter is capable of an excellent technical product. His best work is made of well-levigated buff clay with a slightly lustrous surface, a little less hard than that of Geometric. On it he uses a good black glaze more inclined, however, to crack and peel than that of Attic Geometric. This technique,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acrop. Cat.*, II, pp. 336f.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, p. 380.



which occurs chiefly on work of the Orientalizing style (Nos. **145–146**, **214–215**, **331**), often also includes the use of subsidiary white and purple colors, and of incision. The white is usually laid on the clay, but in one case (No. **331**) over thick black glaze. White, of course, was used on black continuously from late Geometric times onward.<sup>1</sup> Our unique polychrome example (No. **133**) is peculiar even in the surface of the clay, which has a warm lustre, nearer to that of the Polychrome Matt-painted ware of the Middle Helladic period than to that of Geometric. The heavy outline filled with color is more in the technique of major painting than in that of vases (cf. also No. **338**).

The material from the Agora includes a few pieces of a Light on Dark technique to my knowledge not hitherto recognized as Proto-attic. It is a parallel to the Black Polychrome style of Protocorinthian, which begins about the middle of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> The Protocorinthian style is more elaborate, however, in the use of incision and applied purple as well as white. Our ware appears rather to resemble the Cretan Light on Dark style in which white details are painted on a brownish-black glaze as in late Geometric from Laconia and elsewhere on the mainland. This style has been considered a Minoan survival.<sup>3</sup> Presumably it spread from Crete to Greece and also to the islands, to judge from its occasional occurrence in Delos.<sup>4</sup> The use of red in addition to white in Delos is paralleled on one piece from the Agora (No. **159**). It is a difficult ware to date, but the Agora examples include Subgeometric and early Orientalizing shapes (Nos. **32**, **211–212**) and in addition the well developed shape and design of the specimens with the octopus (Nos. **137**, **168**). Presumably, then, the Proto-attic style started before the Protocorinthian but never attained the same development and popularity. It is another example of Cretan influence in Attica at the very beginning of the Orientalizing period. But, what is even more interesting, it preserves a Geometric tradition which later becomes typically Athenian—namely, the covering of the body of the amphora with solid glaze. When the Athenian potter takes over the horse protome from the islands<sup>5</sup> he sets it on an amphora of shape not unlike that of No. **137**, in a panel on the solid black body which he inherited from this older tradition (cf. also the glazed amphorae Nos. **126–130**).

Shapes. Figs. 30, 34, 36, 40, 44, 46, 63, 66

At first Proto-attic shapes are mere degenerations of their Geometric prototypes. Degeneration tends naturally toward slurring transitions so that the sharp differentiation of the parts of the vase, which is characteristic of the best Geometric work, gradually weakens. This weakness may be seen, for instance, in the tall vases such as amphorae,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rumpf, *Anz.*, XXXVIII IX, 1923–1924, pp. 48–49; Payne, *Necrocor.*, p. 347, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Payne, *B. S. A.*, XXIX, 1927–1928, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> Poulsen and Dugas, *B. C. H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 402, Nos. 72–74 and p. 404.

<sup>5</sup> Dugas, *La Céramique des Cyclades*, Paris, 1925, p. 262.

hydriai, and oinochoai on which the differentiation between neck and shoulder is still marked (Nos. 126–127, 129, 132, 133(?), 136, 162, 210, 221). The tendency toward flattening out transitions develops curves. In amphorae and oinochoai (Nos. 137–139, 211–214, 220, 225, 228–232, 241) the neck is merged with the body. Kraters become ovoid on tall conical bases. Bowls and dishes develop flaring curves in following the same law of least resistance. Thus even the kantharos, which is essentially a rather subtle shape, with its contrast between the vertical upper part and the curve of the swelling body which projects itself upward into the handles, loses its significant proportions and degenerates into an elongated bowl with clumsy ears.

The profiles of the details on Proto-attic vases are similarly weak and unimaginative. Lip profiles are based on a curve which varies from a well rounded to a bulbous or tongue-like projection. On large vases the curve is rounded (Nos. 127, 140, 242) or a somewhat flattened round (Nos. 137–139). On smaller vases the moulding usually is sharp, sometimes projected horizontally with a flat or slightly curved top, sometimes revolved through 90° so that the tongue turns upward. The horizontal form appears in general on sizable vessels (Nos. 135, 144, 177–181, 188, 190–192, 198, 228, 241). The vertical form occurs on bowls and dishes or on kraters with very small openings (Nos. 142–143, 172–176, 189, 193, 195). The curve varies somewhat but except for the elaboration of a secondary projection on No. 141, it is usually fundamentally the same. In fact the lip profile may be inverted for the base of vase or lid (Nos. 130, 161, 151, 156–160) with one example of the double projection (No. 150). The outline of flaring rim and conical base ending in a simple rounded curve is in accordance with Proto-attic simplicity.

This morphology has as its basic principle expression in mass. By allowing centrifugal force to shape the clay most economically the potter attains capacious and sturdy shapes that develop into the powerful vases of the late seventh century, the typically Attic *Bauchamphorae* decorated with lions, sphinxes, or horse protomes. Their rotund surfaces offer a suitable field for flowing designs and silhouettes contrasted with empty spaces.

Now this interest in mass is in direct antithesis to the interest in contour which is exemplified in Protocorinthian, Rhodian, and Ionian wares generally. Presumably the richer east drew its inspiration for pottery from metal-work. Nicety of detail and refinements of turning preoccupy the metal worker and challenge the potter to follow him. In one other large class of contemporary vases, however, the interest in mass is the directing principle to a far greater degree than in Attica. This is the Greek Island ware, from its Geometric beginnings straight through its ripest Orientalizing phases. The great bulbous or ovoid bodies, the flaring rims, the splaying conical feet build up massive vases to which the casual contours are unimportant.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to trace the development of the amphora, for instance, from its Geometric prototypes to the form in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, figs. 99 ff.; Dugas, *Cér. des Cyc.*, pls. III ff.; Payne, *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 203 ff.

which the neck merges into the body, a characteristic Proto-attic shape.<sup>1</sup> The late occurrence and the small size of the Island examples of this type indicate that it was the Attic potter who appreciated the possibilities of the shape and developed it fully. But he, like the Boeotian potter, undoubtedly owed much to Island influence for the underlying principle and even for details. For instance, Island influence is apparent not only in the shape and rim but in the elaborate handles with openwork on the Kynosarges amphora. These handles occur as early as Geometric times in Thera.<sup>2</sup>

### Style

As with the Geometric ware, we have given three descriptive terms to three classes of Proto-attic pottery which were apparent in the deposit. In actual fact, the phases represented are but two, Subgeometric and Orientalizing. For convenience we have divided the latter class into early and ripe Orientalizing styles. Since our deposit gives no evidence for even the relative chronology of these classes, it seems wise not to insist severely upon any temporal sequence. Stylistic sequence, however, can be traced, and the evidence for its dating is discussed after its analysis (see p. 635).

#### A. Subgeometric Style

The simplest class shows in glaze, shapes, and style a degeneration of Geometric types. It may be said to differ from Geometric in the relaxation of drawing, which no longer has the appearance of stencilling. To it belong the amphorae, jugs, stands, dishes, and bowls that are decorated with careless Geometric designs in poor glaze. Much Phaleron ware belongs to this category. It has, as Payne says, "a chaotic looseness, the result of disintegration."<sup>3</sup> Yet in it we can perceive a quickening even before the stimulating influence from the east. That most interesting oinochoe with the panel on the shoulder (No. 210) shows no oriental influence, but it has more life than any Geometric drawing. Though the paint is poor and the style primitive, the picture is not mere decoration. According to the usual formula, the rider should sit more quietly and pay more attention to his reins. But this rider is exuberant. The artist gives a sense of action cleverly controlled to balance through the diagonals formed by the legs and arms of the rider, the whip and the projecting head of the horse. In this swing of legs and arms, in the touch of realistic contrast between the streaming and the tumbled manes, in all the stenographic detail, we see vitality and promise.

#### B. Early Orientalizing Style

Into this world of chaotic energy comes a fresh stimulus from the east. At first new motives are added superficially without realization of their value. Geometric

<sup>1</sup> Dugas, *Cér. des Cyc.*, pp. 233-234, fig. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 3; *Thera*, II, figs. 144, 336, 341.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 205.



tradition keeps the patterns close and neat, as on the early kantharoi and oinochoai (Nos. 202-208; 216-217). The sober light-on-dark tradition of late Geometric times also holds for the black oinochoai and bowls with sparse decoration in white (Nos. 172-173; 211-212). Then the artist begins to appreciate the possibilities inherent in the flexibility of the new motives. In floral designs the rigidity is first relaxed, as in palmettes and volutes, cunningly combined (Nos. 204, 213) or later, in sprawling tendrils ending in palmettes like small blossoms (Nos. 136, 169). Human figures are rare, merely lean silhouettes as on the fragment like the Analatos hydria (No. 162), a very early example. The artist gives new life to animals, to the restrained Geometric horses (No. 224), to the stalking lions and deer (Nos. 215, 194), and to the animated birds upon his vases (Nos. 157, 158, 199). In clay, his animals are still clumsy, but he gives certain examples character in the stockiness of proportion or in the inquiring turn of the head (Nos. 299, 304, 309). In one small piece (No. 322) the animal tosses up his chin and lifts his tail with a spirit that has nothing of the Geometric in it. Color lends gaiety to the figurines and shields, the modelling of which, however, is childish and inept.

### C. Orientalizing Style

Thus to the hieratic mood of Geometric comes a complete reaction in the "great gay vases of the seventh century."<sup>1</sup> The artist suddenly released from old formulae explores the world for new ones. He adds to the richness of his vases by the use of incision and of purple and white paint. He adopts many new ideas, but he develops them more naturalistically than any of his contemporaries.

Characteristic of this period are the complicated floral designs. The Agora examples are fragmentary, but the restoration of No. 145 gives us some conception of the style, better examples of which are preserved at the Kerameikos. Not only is the flowing design admirably woven on the curved surfaces of the vase, but the bits broken off for insertions fit the panels with the elasticity of a living flower. Thus the vase is made vivacious and not heavy with intricate embroidery. This Attic nimbleness in the handling of floral design becomes vividly apparent if we compare this solution with the stereotyped complexities on the Island pottery to which it probably owes its inspiration.<sup>2</sup>

We find the same quality in renderings of animals. Even in the old light-on-dark technique we find an octopus as naturalistic as those of Mycenaean conception (Nos. 137, 168). An excellent instance is the lion oinochoe (No. 214). This is not the silhouetted lion of the Subgeometric style; it is at once bolder and simpler. The artist has discarded the dotted muzzle, the wrinkled nose, and the teeth of alternate color which give the Burgon beasts a fabulous ferocity. The round eye, the more realistic teeth, and above all the ear playfully laid back to show the furry interior are refinements in the direction of naturalism. Although the type resembles the Island formula, as has been noted, rather

<sup>1</sup> Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Pfuhl, figs. 104 ff.

than the earlier Attic, it is actually closer to the oriental prototype than to any of these Greek examples. In fact details such as the line over the eye and the shape of the eye and of the ear are remarkably close to those on an Assyrian relief of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> It is significant in this connection that also in Corinth, as Payne has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> Assyrian formulae displaced the older Hittite tradition for the drawing of lions some time about the middle of the seventh century. Not to the invention of the Athenian artist, then, but to his talent for adapting the oriental models do we owe the new style.

But the Athenian potter develops at this time a style of drawing the human figure which may be called his own. The sturdy legs of the wrestlers on the Kynosarges vase and of Herakles on the New York Nessos amphora have previously indicated to us the new skill in drawing the human body. Neither of them, however, equals our fragment of a similar amphora (No. 133). The artist who, as we see from his erasures, had to struggle over his lines, persevered until he produced a masterpiece of swinging contours, surprisingly simple. Even the knee-cap is rendered without elaboration. This is the style of fresco-painting. We may perhaps regret that vase-painting so soon abandoned this manner for the compact and dainty spirit of Black-figured ware. Its final expression may be seen in the bold style of the Athens Nessos amphora and in the great lion and sphinx amphorae,<sup>3</sup> the last products that may be called Proto-attic. In actual painting, however, as on the plaque (No. 277), the drawing of this period is sketchy. Interest is concentrated on the arrangement of color and of pattern rather than in nicety of line. The excavations at the Kerameikos have revealed better than those in the Agora what the coroplast of this period could accomplish.

### Summary

The Proto-attic style, then, as we see its development, is a style of reactionism. It shakes off the restraint of Geometric tradition, expands toward freedom and exuberance, and finally tempers itself into the restraint of the Black-figured style. It is one of the freest periods in Athenian art. If this freedom has necessarily the awkwardness of immaturity, it has a vitality greater than that of any contemporary expression. Not only is the Attic potter free to choose what he will from the repertory of other styles, but he is free to re-observe the subjects, making them somewhat his own. With strange independence he avoids copying pattern for its own sake. This tendency toward naturalism is what carried the Athenian artist through the decorative period of his art, in which the Rhodian and Corinthian far excelled him, to the peculiarly Attic creations of the Black-figured and Red-figured styles.

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, p. 10, fig. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Necrocor.*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *B. C. H.*, XXII, 1898, pp. 282 ff., figs. 4-5.

Our material is not sufficient for a full analysis of the various influences which contributed to the creation of this Attic style.<sup>1</sup> We may only indicate briefly the general course of foreign influence and the particular contributions that are clearly visible. The motives found on the Subgeometric style, the rectilinear inheritance from Geometric, are well-known and easily recognizable. The first orientalizing motives to appear are rays and curvilinear designs: wavy lines, volutes, the guilloche, tendrils ending in palmettes, spiral-hooks, and similar S curls. Since these filling ornaments are, in general, common to Orientalizing art, it is impossible to attribute them to any special origin. The presence, however, of much Middle Protocorinthian in our deposit, and particularly of Attic imitations of it, shows that Attic potters were familiar with Protocorinthian and presumably learned much from it. This influence is perhaps apparent in the oinochoe with bands around the body (No. 213) and in the coursing hare and hound on No. 331, but it does not appear in shapes nor in the typically Protocorinthian arrangement of designs in fine zones completely encircling the body. Nor is there in Attica anything comparable to the Protocorinthian Black Polychrome or elaborate "Black-figure" style. The relation seems to have been closest at the beginning of the seventh century, at about the time of the Theban krater the Centaurs of which have a younger brother on a Protocorinthian pyxis dated *ca.* 675–650 B.C.<sup>2</sup> But the outline heads of Attic men and animals show another influence.

The technique of outline heads is, of course, eastern—Rhodian and Island. From the islands also come many other details observable on early Orientalizing Proto-attic vases. Not only certain filling ornaments, such as dotted circles between rays (No. 202), but far more important elements are close to those of the Island Linear Orientalizing style. We have shown the influence on shapes (see above, p. 630). In design the principle of asymmetry, of deliberate differences between back and front or between zones, is characteristic of Island vases.<sup>3</sup> This principle, visible early on our kantharoi (Nos. 200, 202, 204) is carried down to the New York Nessos amphora. The placing of the design earlier in the period on the neck and shoulder and later as a large scene on the body also follows the Island development. Finally, the subjects, such as lion protomes, grazing horses and deer, and lions with uplifted paws arranged heraldically rather than in zones, are definitely in the Island tradition.

We have also noted the Island type of polychromy among our sherds (see above, p. 629). Most of this influence seems to have come from the Linear Orientalizing style, but elements in what Payne calls the Melian style<sup>4</sup> also clearly appear in our ripe Orientalizing phase. It has been noted that the Kynosarges vase shows Island influence, in shape and form, as well as in the typical large scene with a chariot.<sup>5</sup> These more complex pieces of

<sup>1</sup> See in general Pfuhl, I, p. 125 for bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *Protokor. Vasenmalerei*, pl. 16, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dugas, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, VIII, 2; p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *J. H. S.* XLVI, 1926, pp. 208ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 631, and Dugas, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Pfuhl, I, p. 123.



Proto-attic style show by their "delight in sharp contrasts of colour, their thickly woven decoration and heavy, obvious rhythms," a relation to the Melian style.<sup>1</sup> In later Proto-attic this influence continues, even down to the horse and human head protomes of the amphorae dating at the end of the seventh century. It is curious, in view of this close relation with the islands that only a few actual importations from the east were found in our deposit—the East Greek bowl (No. 125) and probably another East Greek piece (No. 139). Other East Greek wares, however, have been found elsewhere in the excavation. It is worthy of mention that a flake of obsidian, presumably Melian,<sup>2</sup> came from the deposit.

From one other direction foreign elements seem to have penetrated into Attica, namely, from Crete. We have suggested that polychromy spread from Cyprus through Crete to the mainland and our best example, the plaque (No. 277), shows Cretan relations also in the type. The Light on Dark ware can be attributed to Cretan sources. It is probable that this influence came through the islands, not directly from Crete. For though simple Subgeometric or Early Orientalizing bowls and dishes are common in both places, no Attic vase-shape or motive can be directly traced to Cretan prototypes. In view of the so-called Daedalic sculptural tradition and to judge from the Cretan facial type on our plaque this influence appears to have been plastic rather than ceramic.

In return for all this, Athens seems to have given little in exportation. Her pottery is found only near-by, in Eleusis, Menidi, Thebes, and Aegina, with one possible sherd in Marseilles.<sup>3</sup> Her first exports seem to have been amphorae filled with oil or wine (see p. 571). Later, toward the end of the seventh century, her relations with Ionia and Corinth were to mutual advantage. Before that Athens was learning, and if she learned her craft more slowly than her contemporaries, yet she learned so well that ultimately she drove them all from the field. In this conservatism, which adapts rather than adopts foreign styles, lay her strength. Her reserved energy transformed what it learned to a brusque and spirited artistic expression. This expression is at once sensitive and robust, the work of youth not too quickly forced to maturity.

### Chronology

The evidence for the absolute chronology of the Proto-attic pottery in our deposit is not sufficient for more than the large groupings indicated on the table (Fig. 91). The upper limit is set by the beginnings of Orientalizing styles towards the end of the eighth century, as derived from the dating of graves in the western colonies.<sup>4</sup> Parallels in Protocorinthian and Island Linear Orientalizing wares place the beginning of the riper Orientalizing style in the second quarter of the seventh century. The lower limit of

<sup>1</sup> Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. C. Bosanquet, *Phylakopi*, pp. 232f.

<sup>3</sup> Vasseur, *L'Origine de Marseille*, pl. 10, 13.

<sup>4</sup> See the most recent discussion, Karo, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLV, 1920, pp. 106ff.

our deposit is set by the latest Protocorinthian pieces in the Black Polychrome style of the mid-seventh century and the aryballoi (Nos. 97-98), which seem to fall just after the middle of the century, *ca.* 650-640 B.C. This evidence would place the actual dumping of the deposit around 640 B.C.; possibly as late as *ca.* 640-630 B.C. The contents of the deposit, however, cannot be dated later than *ca.* 640 B.C. The valuable evidence from the Kerameikos bears out this chronology. It is significant that the beginnings of genuine Black-figured ware, as on the Vourvá vases and the Peiraeus amphora, are not found in our deposit.<sup>1</sup> These styles, therefore, are to be dated in the period following that of our deposit, *ca.* 640-625 B.C., the late Orientalizing period.

The chronology indicated on the table (Fig. 91) is that suggested by Miss Richter, with some rearrangement in the order of her list.<sup>2</sup> In general it has been hitherto accepted, except by Buschor<sup>3</sup> and Rumpf<sup>4</sup> whose late dating is difficult to reconcile with our evidence. Payne's list of Attic pottery from about 625 B.C. onward<sup>5</sup> falls fairly well in line. It leaves, however, rather a long period, that is 640-620 B.C., for the development from the Kynosarges to the Peiraeus amphora. Our evidence, which dates the New York amphora somewhat before the middle of the century and the Kynosarges amphora somewhat after it, suggests that Payne's dating is perhaps a little late.

### Conclusion

In this small space on the slope of the Areiopagos, then, we may read the dim traces of human activity. In obscure prehistory the people who made Middle Helladic pottery lived there or were buried there; of them we learn nothing more. Next we find that the people who made Geometric pottery—whoever they were—buried their dead upon the slope and practised the cult of the dead in the cemetery<sup>6</sup> (see above, p. 554). The presence of inscribed sherds also suggests a dedication to a supernatural power. Later when the houses superseded the graves, or perhaps intruded among them, it is probable that the living continued to pay respect to the dead. Finally, a mass of offerings, partially burned, mixed with ashes and the bones of sacrificed animals, votive pots and plaques, shields, figurines, and bronzes was discarded from some near-by place. Then the whole spot was covered and forgotten.

We must not overlook one possibility. This votive deposit was thrown in part at least upon the remains of an earlier building. Perhaps this was not by chance; perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Except No. 171, dating about 630-620 B.C., found on the surface.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, XXXII, 1912, pp. 383-384.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 211; he places the New York Nessos amphora in his second period for the century, 650-550 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> In Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, II 3, Griechische und römische Kunst, p. 19. Kunze, *Kret. Bronzereliefs*, p. 254, note 23 follows the earlier dating. I owe these references to Mr. Payne.

<sup>5</sup> *Necrocor.*, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, Oxford, 1921, pp. 4 ff.; cf. H. J. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 89 ff.



the building was sacred—a very primitive temple—and the sanctity of the spot was not forgotten. The evidence, however, is to the contrary. The building evidently was once lived in, to judge from the hearth, pot, and quern upon the floor. Then the walls collapsed, covering the floor with a layer of clay. No figurines or any cult object was found below that layer of clay. The votive deposit above was mixed with stones and gravel, as though used as a filling and not thrown directly in a soft mound of sacrificial offerings above the house. The extremely fragmentary condition of a vast number of different objects argues that the deposit was but part of a much larger dump elsewhere. Finally, the absence of a later shrine in connection with these offerings can scarcely be fortuitous. It seems impossible therefore that there was a sanctuary in this exact spot.

But the cult of the dead which we have noted may well have continued from Geometric into Proto-attic times. Now the votive deposit as a whole exactly resembles that of the cult of the dead, probably of a hero, at Menidi. There and here the offerings consisted of exactly the same objects: the same type of shields and of horses, both fitting dedications to the hero, and of cauldron-shaped vases for the libation.<sup>1</sup> Plaques and pottery were also offered at Menidi. In addition, our plaque seems to point to some sort of chthonic worship. Let us consider the evidence for such a cult on the north slope of the Areiopagos.

Three possibilities offer themselves. The Metroon, sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, lay on the way up to the Acropolis in this general region.<sup>2</sup> The Mother of the Gods was apparently chthonic in origin, identified according to some authorities with Demeter. It is conceivable that our deposit belongs to an early chthonic sanctuary later called the Metroon. Somewhere near, below the Acropolis, also lay the Eleusinion.<sup>3</sup> We have noted that objects similar to ours were found at Eleusis. But in our present knowledge the topographical evidence seems unsuitable.

If, however, we glance upward to the rocky hill which overhangs this area (Fig. 92), a more tempting solution suggests itself. At the northeastern corner of the Areiopagos lay the sanctuary of the Semnai.<sup>4</sup> Of these ancient goddesses only late representations survive. Actually, we think of them as the Furies, the Erinyes, because Aeschylus paints them as unforgettably horrible, like the Gorgons and Harpies.<sup>5</sup> But other literary evidence indicates that the Semnai, whom he identifies with the Erinyes, were originally different. They seem to have been chthonic goddesses whose cult was definitely local, as opposed to that of the Panhellenic Erinyes and Eumenides.<sup>6</sup> One tradition connected the founding of the sanctuary with Crete; another associated its purification with that island. This

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in general Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 343 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300 ff.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Eumenides*, ll. 46 ff.

<sup>6</sup> J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 239 ff.



is interesting in view of the Cretan connections of our plaque (No. 277). In contrast with the horrible appearance of the Erinyes, the aspect of the Semnai was not terrible. Nor has our plaque any of the grotesqueness of the Gorgon or the Harpy. The priestesses of the Semnai wore red, the color of the Underworld. The cult-offerings were those due chthonic deities, animal sacrifices, burned honey cakes, and milk. These goddesses may well have been a survival in multiple form of the pre-Greek earth-goddess, who had a chthonic aspect, according to some scholars, in Crete and even more probably on the mainland.<sup>1</sup> It is curious how well our plaques suit such a cult; the type is chthonic, the artistic form is hitherto unknown, and the characteristic attribute is the snake. It must be remembered that a terracotta snake was also found (No. 326).

We have pointed out that most of the offerings in the votive deposit are like those in the cult of the dead, which would seem to suit the Semnai. But this sanctuary was not limited only to female deities. There were in addition altars of Hermes, Gaia, and Ploutos, also of the Underworld, and a shrine of Hesychos, the Silent One, a name suitable to a dead hero.<sup>2</sup> He was supposed to be the ancestor of the priestesses of the Semnai. In the precinct also, according to one tradition, was the grave of Oedipus, "the ghostly protector of the soil of Attica."<sup>3</sup> In other words, on a hill of which the slopes were once covered with graves, the cult of heroes and of chthonic deities was practised near a cleft which led to the Underworld. On the analogy of the cult at Menidi, we may suggest that the cult of the dead here also never died. Ghosts, particularly of the heroes who can give virtue and of the murdered who can avenge themselves, must be tended and appeased.

Actually, no such sanctuary has been excavated. From the ancient references, the centre of the cult of the Semnai appears to have been near the deep cleft at the northeastern extremity of the Areiopagos. Very possibly it was situated in the level space later occupied by the early Byzantine church of Dionysios, the Areopagite. From this place to the spot where the votive deposit was found is about three minutes' walk. The region near the cleft is more or less separated from the votive deposit, however, by a tongue of rock which projects northward (visible in Fig. 92 at the left). But just above the area of the deposit the rock was cut back in different periods to form a roughly rectangular space which may well have been a precinct. Had one wished to dump anything down the hill from this region, it would have fallen exactly where our votive material was found. Possibly the general precinct of the Semnai covered this whole north slope. Presumably the other altars and especially that of the hero were not clustered in one small spot, but each had its limited area, representing family or tribal cults, which later were assimilated into the one precinct of which the name has

<sup>1</sup> L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 5, note c; cf. *Cults of the Greek States*, III, p. 296. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 281, opposes this view.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 107.



come down to us. The varied character of the offerings, with their obvious relations to a hero as well as to a chthonic goddess, tends to support this theory.

If we assume for a moment that the deposit came from the near-by sanctuary of the Semnai, we may perhaps explain its presence by consulting contemporary Athenian history. It is well-known how Kylon, who had seized the Acropolis in an attempt to



Fig. 92. The General Area in its Relation to the Areiopagos and Acropolis. A, B, Geometric graves; X-X, Area Shown in Fig. 6

set up a tyranny like that at Megara, was finally forced to descend by Megakles of the Alkmaeonid family. The conspirators tried to protect themselves by a cord which they attached to the statue of Athena, but they were set upon and murdered at the sanctuary of the Semnai where some took refuge at the altars. After this terrible pollution legend has it that Epimenides of Crete was summoned to purify the whole sanctuary. At this time the Kylonion was probably erected.<sup>1</sup> However much truth there be in the story of Epimenides, nothing is more probable than the purification of the polluted sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, I, 126; Plutarch, Solon, 12; Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Adcock, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, pp. 27 f.



The evidence for the date of this episode is not absolutely definite.<sup>1</sup> It occurred after 640 B.C. when Kylon won an Olympic victory. Reference to an amnesty in relation to the conspiracy gives as a probable lower limit the archonship of Solon in 594 B.C. Scholars tend to consider that the codification of the laws of homicide by Draco owed its inspiration to the episode of the conspiracy. It would date therefore between 640 and 621 B.C. Bury suggests *ca.* 632 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

As we have seen, the archaeological evidence from the pottery and plaques indicates that the votive deposit as a whole is to be dated before 640 B.C. A few late seventh century or very early sixth century sherds were found in the upper layer, but not in the votive deposit. The date of the filling appears, therefore, to fall about 630 B.C., possibly as late as the last quarter of the seventh century. This coincidence in dates is striking. For if our deposit came, as we have suggested, from the sanctuary of the Semnai, at what more likely moment than at the time of the purification would this mass of material be discarded? In ordinary clearance of deposits from temples, the objects belong to a fairly long range of time, as is natural in the accumulation of dedications. But in the votive deposit proper, as distinguished from the miscellaneous filling of Proto-attic pottery in Area A-C, the mass of material belongs to the second quarter of the seventh century. Moreover, although a few of the objects had been burned as if for sacrifice, several were complete as though they had been preserved in a sanctuary, not merely broken and burned as offerings at a grave. All the evidence points to the use of discarded material from a near-by sanctuary as a filling. Such a filling would probably have been dumped from above, not brought up the hill from below. The objects in this filling may well have come from the sanctuary just above, on the slope of the Areiopagos. They may indeed be thank-offerings dedicated by those acquitted by the court of the Areiopagos of homicide or murder. It is tempting to suggest that they were carried to the place where we found them, if not by Epimenides himself, then by some energetic priest or priestess of the polluted shrine of the Semnai.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, Chronological Note on the date of the Cylonian Conspiracy, pp. 661f.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Greece*, London, 1902, I, p. 188. Beloch, *Griech. Geschich.*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 302ff. argues for a date in the mid-sixth century. This view does not appear to have met acceptance.

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